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THE

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NEW SERIES.

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## A FRENCH JUDGE ON

In 1886 the French Academy of Letters offered a prize for an essay on responsibility. At the end of 1888 six essays were adjudged to be of equal merit between their authors. One of these was by M. Ferri, who has published his essay and has published it last year under the title of "Criminal Responsibility and Punishment." It is written in the Italian school of "criminalists," or "Criminal anthropologists." The leading members of this school are M. Ferri, Professor at the University of Turin, and Lombroso, Professor of Medical Jurisprudence at the University of Padua. Baron Garofalo, Fellow of the University of Padua, is also a member of this school. These gentlemen are determinists, i.e., they believe that crime is determined by the will. This is laid down by M. Ferri in his essay on "Imputability." The essential principle of the new order, as established by the new school, is the freedom of the will. Their view is

"All worms make cocoons, and bees their hives." We no longer say man has a brain, a stomach, a digestive apparatus; we say man is a brain, a stomach, a digestive apparatus. The criminal is a brain which feeds on blood, just as a tiger is a stomach which requires much flesh, and a drunkard is a stomach which has need of alcohol. The followers of this school deny apparently that there is such a thing as criminal responsibility. But they do not on this account deny the necessity of punishment. They justify it on the ground of utility. It is social utility according to them which makes the only difference between homicide by an executioner and homicide by a criminal. They are far from wishing to abolish punishment, and some of them would increase its severity. They are all apparently in favour of capital punishment, regarding it as a means of stamping out crime. Some would carry the stamping out process still further, and propose to prevent by means of surgery the procreation of criminals.

The doctrines of the new school seem wild and dangerous, but I have to admit that I only know them from the descriptions of their adversaries. It is difficult to believe that there cannot be anything of value in their speculations. Italy is the native home of jurisprudence, and it is not likely that the countrymen of Ulpian and Beccaria can be altogether wrong. The very fact that jurisprudence is so much studied in Italy is encouraging and hopeful. It shows that that noble country is returning to its first love. M. Proal writes as follows at the close of one of his chapters. "Now that I have pointed out what I consider to be the errors and the self-contradictions of Dr Lombroso, I hasten to add that the Italian savant will always have the great merit of having called the attention of physicians and philosophers to the causes of crime. Thanks to the movement which he has created, the questions of penal philosophy are the questions of the day, jurists and physicians, who were hitherto too much shut up in their special studies, now exchange their ideas in reviews and in congresses. This mutual approach of law and medicine cannot but be profitable to criminal justice." After all, the views of Lombroso and his school are only a development of what has been thought by many persons in all ages of the world. The doctrine of Lombroso is the creature of his circumstances is a very natural one, and it is not difficult to see that there is much truth in it. It is almost impossible to predict what a man or a woman will become. To mention only modern examples, the Marquis de Sade thought that people would become more and more wicked, and that the immortal

reflection of Becky Sharp that the repose and amiability of her neighbours, and which she was inclined to envy, were only the result of a long course of the three per cents. Fiction may charm us with describing a pure and noble woman like Consuelo rising up out of the moral and physical mud of Venice, but we cannot accept the picture as likely to be true. Though M. Froux combats the criminal anthropologists and refuses to believe in born criminals, yet he is too sober and honest a writer not to admit that their views are partially correct. He tells us that one often notices at the Assizes that when the charges are read out, the audience are full of indignation against the accused, but that as the case proceeds, and the antecedents of the accused are revealed, their feeling changes to pity, and they hope that he will be leniently dealt with, or even acquitted. It was John Newton, I think, who used to say whenever he saw a man led away to be hanged—'There, but for the grace of God, goes John Newton.' I can add to this a more experienced and judges seldom have any lateral sensation of sympathy towards an accused. Certainly they never feel pity and indignation against him. One gifted with the tinct of evil and with a love of justice, qualities which I venture to think are rather at a discount at present, may perhaps be tempted to envy a criminal judge the opportunity of sentencing a cruel wrong doer. But such a feeling is generally short-lived. As we probe into the causes of crimes, we commonly find that the criminal is more to be pitied than blamed. The French phrase 'To understand all is to forgive all' may be an extravagance and may be misapplied, but it is surely a beautiful saying.

The chief novelty in the arguments of the Italian school is the use they make of Darwinism. They accept the theory of the descent of man, and of course if man is only a larger ape, it is difficult to see where a moral sense comes in. The first men, it is said, were destitute of morality, and this is attempted to be proved not merely by travellers' account of savages, but by examining the crimes of the men of the stone age, &c. The born criminal, they say, is a case of nature returning to the original type. And they endeavour to prove that his physical characteristics resemble those of the men of the Neander valley. This is the doctrine of atavism, and by means of it they explain the difficulty that many habitual criminals have had.

\* A. M. Raux investigated the family of several criminals and found that 12 per cent. had been insane, and that the kindred of 127, or about 1/8, were respectable.



M. Proal deprecates the theory of the "born-criminal," and even seems to doubt the existence of incorrigibles. But I am afraid that it must be admitted that there are many habitual criminals who never reform. I well remember that when the Government of India by a fantastic clemency let loose a number of thieves on the occasions of the Delhi Darbar and the Jubilee, many of them at once returned to their old courses. Many a "Jubilee-khalas," as the phrase was, has come up before me at the Alipore Sessions. I once heard a Magistrate addressing a meeting held to celebrate the proclamation of the title of Empress of India tell his hearers that thirty-seven prisoners had been released in honour of the occasion. I am afraid that his highly respectable audience did not much appreciate the boon. I suspect that their feelings were like those of the good people of Barisal who, when I was releasing a number of bad characters on security, begged me to stay my hand till the Durga Pooja was over.

M. Proal has had much judicial experience, and he has served both the North and in the South of France. He has been successively a Magistrate and a Judge (*Juge d'instruction*, *procureur de la République*, and *Conseiller*). At present he is a Judge of the Court at Aix. The value of his book lies in its sobriety of thought and language, and in his practical knowledge. As M. Marha, the Secretary to the Academy remarks, "we might wish for more brilliancy in the essay, but not for more sagacity." M. Proal keeps his good wine till the last for the second part of his book is much better than the first. The opening chapters, in which he combats the theories of atavism, degeneration &c., seem to me the feeblest on the book. They are full of what has been called "cheap learning"—of quotations from Manu, Herodotus and Plutarch. I think that he had better have refrained from examining such dubious witnesses. In his credulity for old stories he reminds one of M. Comte who moved M. Grote's indignation by accepting as a fact, and reasoning from the very doubtful statement that Thales taught the Egyptians how to measure the pyramids. M. Proal is strong and informing when he leaves those idle tales and gives to us out of the treasury of his personal knowledge. The following pages give his views on trial by jury. I think that they will be read with interest in this country. M. Proal seems to me to write much as an experienced Bengal Magistrate or Sessions Judge would write. Indeed why should he not, for human nature is the same all over the world, and M. Proal's career has been somewhat similar to that of a Bengal civil judge. It will be noticed that M. Proal is in favour of the

retention of trial by jury. His reasons hardly apply to this country where the institution is a novelty, but perhaps his conclusion is correct for Bengal as well as for France. So long as Bengalees are judged by foreigners, so long as the chief court of the province, both Bench and Bar, is largely composed of English lawyers ignorant of the language and customs of the country, it will probably be unwise to abolish trial by jury.

"Trial by jury has been sharply attacked by the criminal anthropologists. M. Garafalo calls it an odd institution.\* The ignorance of jurymen, their susceptibility, the excessive influence which advocates have over them, the inequality and dice-like character of their verdicts are exposed with much vigour and often with much truth by M. M. Garafalo and Farde, the latter of whom agrees with the Italian school in calling for the suppression of trial by jury

I am far from thinking that perfect justice is done by juries. Strangers to the science of law they have sometimes to decide legal points because they are closely connected with questions of fact. Are they competent to solve them? Even when the questions are of fact only, have they always sufficient capacity to grasp the bearings and the concatenation of a complicated charge? Are juries always so impartial as not to be touched by considerations foreign to the issue? When, as sometimes happens, there is a misunderstanding between the jury and the presiding judge, have we never seen the jury acquit simply in order to spite the latter? Finally, have jurymen sufficient coolness and judgment to resist a skilful defence and not be whirled away by their feelings? Certainly I could not venture to answer these questions in the affirmative †

Diodorus Siculus‡ avers that the most experienced judges are sometimes seen to be led away by the power of deceptive

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\* M. Garafalo's full phrase, as quoted in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, is "un reste malencontreux et baroque des âges barbares, égaré dans les législations modernes, an unfortunate and eccentric relic of the barbarous ages, out of place in modern legislation. Elsewhere he compares it to the national guard which he says was abolished as nonsensical, though harmless, while the jury is both nonsensical and extremely dangerous.

† Apparently M. Proal has overlooked the form of his *potentissime* question.

‡ According to Diodorus the ancient Egyptians thought that the addresses of the advocates only obscured matters. They considered that they could judge much better of the prosecution and the defence by papers containing only the bare facts.

language employed for the excitement of compassion.\* How much more is it to be feared that jurymen, who are for the most part ignorant of the artifices of rhetoric, may be led away by such means. I attribute it in a great measure to the influence of a too skilful defence that jurymen are so extremely indulgent to defendants of superior education. Those accused have generally the means of employing an eloquent and practical advocate who knows how to exercise the right of challenge, who is skilful in obscuring the charges, and who ends by carrying an acquittal, thanks to the doubts he has instilled into the minds of the jurymen. Thus, for example, in 1879, 35 per cent of educated defendants were acquitted, whereas the percentage of acquittals for the uneducated was only 18. The fact is the latter have small means or none at all, and so are defended *ex-officio* by young and inexperienced lawyers.

The extreme indulgence of jurymen in the matters of offences against morals, of infanticide and abortions, often contrasts, I admit, in an unsatisfactory way with an extreme severity in the case of theft. Two-thirds of the accused in cases of abortion are acquitted. I have seen women accused of infanticide acquitted even when they admitted their guilt. The jury is sometimes more indulgent to a prostitute who has killed her child and thrown it into a sewer than it is to a youth who has stolen fieldfares (grives, redwings?) There are juries who are too practical and personal in their views, and who appraise the guilt of defendants at the danger to themselves. The stealer of field fares can rob them, but what have they to fear from a woman who causes her miscarriage, or who kills her infant?

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\* Defendants arouse the compassion of jurymen and sometimes obtain an acquittal by having their children brought to Court. This method was practised by the ancients, and it often succeeded then just as it does at the present day. Socrates declares in his Apology that he is unwilling to have recourse to a manoeuvre unworthy of his judges and himself. "I have kinsmen, and I have three sons, one of them is a lad, and the other two still children. Yet I will not bring them forward in court, and implore you to acquit me. . . . The Judge does not sit to make a present of justice, but to give judgment; and he has sworn to judge according to law, not to favour the man whom he likes." Noble words which might sometimes be usefully recalled to the minds of jurymen. I have taken the translation from Dean Church's version. I remember seeing the accused in the Morrelganj riot and murder case standing in the dock with his military medals on his breast. Surely this was a clapnet.

At the July Sessions of 1890 a jury of the Bouches-du-Rhône acquitted, even on the minor charge of homicide by negligence a woman charged with infanticide, and who was convicted by debauchery, and refused extenuating circumstances to a youth who had stolen fieldfares.

It will be seen that I am far from denying the imperfections of trial by jury. The excessive number of acquittals at the court of Sessions produces, I acknowledge, a deplorable effect on public morality, and generates the dangerous hope of impunity. A punishment which guilty persons can hope to evade loses much of its efficacy. The certainty of punishment is of more consequence than its severity. If we examine, says Montesquieu, into the cause of disorders we always find that it is impunity and not leniency. If we could by a better police system, by greater certainty of repression, diffuse the conviction that every crime would be punished, the number of criminals would be much diminished. The numerous acquittals at the court of Sessions weaken the deterrent force of punishment, by awakening the hope of escape. What a comment on the jury system as it works at the present day is furnished by the common stratagem of defendants to accuse themselves of a crime when they are brought before the police court for a misdemeanour, in order that they may be tried at the Assizes and so have a chance of escape!

Further, juries have in my eyes the fault of being insensible to the youth of the accused. They refuse, as a general rule, to see an extenuating circumstance in youth. The proportion of acquittals is less for minors than for persons aged from 21 to 40. Thus, for example, in 1865, 222 minors out of 1,000 have been acquitted, while the figures for defendants between 21 and 40 were 241 a thousand, and for those over 40, 364 a thousand. In 1833-1880 107 accused aged 16-21 have been sentenced to death. What are we to think of so many capital sentences against minors who according to civil law are incapable of contracts or of managing their property, and to whom the law assigns guardians in order that their inexperience and incapacity may be supplied.\*

Finally, instead of being indulgent to the poor and ignorant, and severe upon the educated, the intelligent, and the rich, juries habitually are the opposite. M. Tarde thinks that juries are more severe in proportion as the accused are older and better taught. This ought to be the case, but it is not. Juries are more indulgent to the educated than to the illiterate. Thus in 1882, out of 100

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\* The new Hungarian Penal Code, Section 47, declares that persons who have not completed his twentieth year at the time of the crime shall not be sentenced to death, or to penal servitude for life. Section 56 of the same Penal Code admits a reduction of punishment when the accused has completed his 21st year. Complete responsibility only exists for those over 21.

illiterate accused, 23 were acquitted, while of educated accused 41 per cent were acquitted; in 1883 the corresponding figures were 26 and 38, and in 1886 they were 24 and 32.\* It seems even that juries are more severe upon a coarse, ill-clad accused than they are on one who is rich and well dressed.

Ought we then, on account of the imperfections of trial by jury, to approve the demand of criminal anthropology for its abolition? Would it not be wiser to amend an institution which has become part of our public life, than to abolish it on account of abuses which are capable of removal? If trial by jury were abolished, would we not immediately see a great movement for its restoration? It would be better to maintain trial by jury and amend it, than have to reintroduce it.

Is too the present, a fit time to choose for abolishing trial by jury? Certainly I do not feel pressed by the argument that the jury is the citizen's school. I think that the accused, whose honour and liberty, and sometimes life depends on the decision of his judges, has a right to judges who possess guarantees of capacity and independence, and that he should not be tried by judges who are attending school. But does any one imagine that in a country divided, like ours, by political passions, every criminal charge could be tried by nominees of the governments without arousing the distrust of a public opinion which is always suspicious?

Do we not frequently see political parties give a political colour to ordinary crimes on account of the rank of the accused? "The French Magistracy, suspected, whatever it does, by irreconcilable enemies, continually shaken by our political revolutions, calumniated by one party, languidly defended by the other, can no longer administer criminal justice by itself. It would succumb under the crushing task without benefit to the country.†

I think, moreover, that a good deal of the imperfections of the jury system comes from the list of jurymen "being badly prepared, and that with better results we should have better results. The value of a jury depends upon its composition. This varies according to the departments, that is, according to the merit of the citizens whose names are on the list. If for example the jury system in the district of Var gives better results than in the neighbouring departments, this is because the presence in the lists of a good number of retired naval officers raises the level

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\* The indulgence of juries, says the Statistique for 1868, increases with the age and degree of instruction of the accused.

† Arthur Deejardins in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of 1 January 1891.

of the juries. Unfortunately, politics affect the composition of the lists, politicians have, as we know a craze for elimination,\* and look out for partisans. It has always been so. Formerly the prefect prepared the list and it used to be said that it was not the independence of spirit of a citizen that he most considered when he chose him.\* At the present day the same political prejudices affect the formation of the list. Because some political matters may be brought before the Assizes, those who draw up the list are led to strike out the names of intelligent and educated men, who would make excellent jurymen, but who are supposed to be not favourable to existing institutions. They supply their places by citizens who are more devoted, but who are of inferior capacity. I have seen illiterate persons, and day labourers' names inscribed on the list. Besides as service on the jury is onerous the mayors in order to relieve their friends, sometimes refrain from putting them on the list and replace them by citizens of inferior education. If all these abuses were corrected juries would be more enlightened and more firm and justice would be better administered.

While I think it necessary to trial by jury should be retained, I consider that the jurisdiction of the Court of Session might be narrowed, and that of the police courts enlarged. Why should offences against morals, abortions, and the majority of aggravated thefts be tried at the Assizes? Those matters could be better dealt with by the correctional courts. In practice this is already done. By the "correctionalisation" of criminal charges, by eliminating the circumstances of aggravation, and by lessening the attributes, the Bailli and the Magistrates cause many cases to be tried by the police courts which are within the competence of the Court of Session. But often the plea of want of jurisdiction is raised by the accused, and they demand and obtain that they be sent before the Assizes. A reform which would have the effects of legalising the practice of "correctionalisation," and of extending the jurisdiction of the police courts without abolishing trial by jury would produce very useful results, and would be welcomed by public opinion. Jurymen, in fact, complain that they are taken away from their business to try petty cases."

\* The assertion that the fault is in the making up of the lists, and not in the system of trial by jury is a favourite one of the native press. At Paris, when the jury system gave bad results, I was told that this was because the respectable men in the list evaded service by bribing the police to return the summons to attend unserved on account of absence.

† Beranger. Criminal Justice in France, 1818.

## THE INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF INDIA.

### I

The industrial history of India like that of any other country, may be taken as divided into two well-marked divisions, the first branch relating to architecture and the second to the various arts and manufactures. The trade and commerce of a country comes under the second head. It is very much to be regretted that the general and popular histories of even the most enlightened countries of Europe do not even passingly refer to this important branch of national activity, which in these days of steam and easy locomotion must be, even more than agriculture, the mainspring of a nation's prosperity or decay. Mr. Green's excellent book though professedly a history of the English people has but a few lines on the subject. In England and Continental Europe, learned professors of various technical institutes, have written the histories of the commerce of their respective countries. Those histories, though occupying themselves chiefly with the statistics of import and export trade, the inferences to be drawn therefrom, and the commercial crises, have indirectly told us the effects of particular laws and measures of Government on particular branches of national industry as well as the expansion and contraction of certain branches of trade and manufactures owing to unusual and temporary causes. The architecture, the arts, and the industries of India were once far-famed in the civilized world. They drew the highest encomiums and received the fullest description from Fa Hien and Huen Tshang, travellers from the Celestial empire whose judgment and artistic taste still commend themselves to the æsthetic critics of the nineteenth century. They drew the attention of many civilised centres in Europe during the Middle Ages. The produce of the Indian looms and handicrafts were taken to the markets of Europe through many a circuitous route by the Arab merchants. They induced travellers and merchants, in these difficult days of locomotion, to visit the land of the pagodas, not only in search of the limitless wealth this land was imagined to contain, but also to take lessons in those industries which had reached a high state of perfection. Later, when the passage of

the cape was discovered, they induced a keen competition between the different European nations. As regards England again, different companies were incorporated for trading to the East. The contest was kept between these for securing the monopoly of an active commerce in the beautiful productions of the peninsula that stretches south of the grandest mountains of the world. The historians of the reign of Akber give us precise details and information as to the Indian productions that were taken up by the Arab and the Egyptian merchants, for the market of that city which was justly called the Queen of the Adriatic. The historians of the age of Philip II and Charles V who were absolute monarchs competent to indulge in their taste for all the articles of luxury that the world produced speak with unaffected admiration of the carpets, the shawls, the muslins, the ivory-work, and the gold and silver embroidery that were purchased from the dominions of the Great Mogul. The splendid architectural monuments with the decorations still existing in many parts of the country, which were erected during the Hindu, the Buddhist, the Jaina and the Mahomedan periods, show clearly that Indian art was not dead at any time when it received any amount of encouragement. All this is changed now. Circumstances have all but rooted out the ancient architectural skill of the races that inhabit India. The artistic talent that produced the peacock throne and the Taj mahal, and that adorned the courts and persons of sovereigns whose appearance struck with admiration the traveller from the west accustomed to the simple dignity of his own monarch, has become rare in the country. Important cities and mints that once were the home of thousands of thriving families have dwindled down into insignificant villages. The report of the Famine Commission plainly showed after a comprehensive enquiry that more than 90 per cent of the Indian population is connected directly or indirectly with the cultivation of the land and that the pressure on the soil is continually increasing with the increase of population. The railways which have killed the carrying trade of the country. Foreign manufactures have driven the Indian artisans, who were following hereditary professions, from their time-honored callings, and thrown a yet larger number of men on the already over-crowded soil. The lot of the landless labourer in India is now certainly one of the hardest known to humanity. India is rich in her natural resources but her sons are now passing through the same predicament that old-established industries of the country always undergo when first confronted with the marvellous powers of steam unless the produce



of that power is shut out by a carefully improvised system of protective duties. The bread-problem, which is now broadly staring us in the face, has happily turned the attention both of the rulers and the ruled to the means that may be adopted to revive the old and far-famed industries of the country and active measures are likely to be taken shortly in this direction. That the Indian produce is yet known and admired in the civilized markets of Europe is beyond all doubt. The German Emperor has only the other day forwarded a large order for Agra carpets. The enlightened travellers who visit our country every cold season are not niggardly in their purchase of Indian articles. The Indian Courts in the International Exhibitions still draw crowds of admirers and purchasers, and the late illustrious Consort of Her Gracious Majesty, in opening the first Exhibition of its kind in 1852, spoke with unstinted admiration of the Indian exhibits. The architectural skill of the country is rapidly on the wane in British India. How truly that eminent scholar, Mr F S Growse says that the Public Works Department policy of the Indian Government has paralyzed, if not entirely killed, the architectural skill of the country. When large buildings are required for us for beneficent purposes, — buildings raised entirely with subscriptions from the Indian nobility and gentry — even these are handed over to British Engineers and the prosaic workmen whom modern India employs to the total exclusion of those architects whose representatives have studded the country with the most precious monuments from the Himalayas to the southern Cape. The silk industry of India was once a most important branch of industry and commerce. Indian silk figured preeminently in the robes of sovereigns and noblemen of the Egyptian and the Ottoman Empires. The industry is now confined to only the Burdwan and the Rajshahi divisions of the Bengal Presidency, and Indian silk has been almost driven out of the European market by the productions of the countries round the Mediterranean. The best species of Indian cotton have short fibres and have no chance in the great European markets when compared with American cotton. The *Surat* of Bombay and the *Dhokra* of Kattywar, which supplied the Lancashire mills during the Great American War when cotton and gold were convertible terms in the Western Presidency, have again been replaced by the American produce, and the export trade of Bombay in that direction has considerably gone down. The outlook thus of the Indian industries is extremely gloomy, and although by energetic and timely efforts much can be done to revive these industries, it is necessary first of all to popularize the subject and to present the past and the future of it in a

readable shape to the Indian public. The history of the architecture, the arts and industries of India will be an interesting study to all cultured men and we should think our duty done if we could kindle some interest in the subject with our own countrymen and direct their attention to the theoretical study of the subject in such works as the writings of Sir George Birdwood, Sir William Hunter, Mr. James Fergusson, Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, and others too numerous for mention. If once the subject in all its details become as popular in India as political literature is these days, we cannot but think that the enlightened portion of our countrymen in all parts of India will be in earnest about this matter and patronize Indian arts and industries as largely as possible. The prevailing fashion guides the choice of the Indian consumer in these days, but an intimate knowledge of and sympathy with the dying industries of the country might change the current of feeling from the well-furnished shop of the European and Europeanized merchant to the poverty-stricken home of the Indian handicraftsman. The industries of the country have again to be brought to the improved level of the modern age, and carried on through the aid of steam and machinery. The Rajput princes, who still resort to Indian architecture, have filled their capitals with noble productions, and there is no reason why the nobility and gentry of British India should not follow the example of those princes who by general acknowledgment are the leaders of the Indian nation. The whole question is not only full of unlimited potentialities but is most important — a theoretical and practical study. With the permission of our readers we would venture to enter into an enlarged consideration of the architecture, the arts and industries and the trade and commerce of our country both in the past and the present. The present writer can but utilize the labours of preceding scholars in the field and he has neither the talents nor the leisure for original researches. But his labours, he hopes, will be useful, if not for finding out any new truths at least for spreading the knowledge of truths already known.

It is probably too late in the day to discuss the general value of architectural achievements in the matter of giving a complete index to the thoughts, the feelings and aspirations of the builders. Europe itself is full of the ruins of edifices and monuments, some of which in beauty of design and finish of detail reach the palmiest days of the Roman Empire when Rome was surpassed by the arts of Greece. Scholars and readers of literature of the day know very well what food for reflection the mass of ruins, peering from among the luxuriant vegetation of Southern

Europe, can afford. That immortal art critic, who is certainly one of the most finished writers of the modern age, John Ruskin, in his works dwells with sufficient vigour and clearness on the effect that the ruins of monuments of bygone ages produce on the human mind and the fruits derived by a process of scientific study applied to them. Any writer on the subject might well despair to give any new truths with reference to those general principles, and Mr Ruskin's works will remain for many years to come, a perpetual quarry where future scholars might sink their shafts for any reflections on the subject. It is not our present purpose to enter into an elaborate discussion of the general principles which ought to regulate the study, the classification, and the criticism of architectural monuments in general. We believe we would supply our readers with interesting materials if we undertook to describe the many monuments of architecture showing a broad conception of outline and a clear perception of detail, with which our native land is strewn. It is a matter of deep regret that educated India should turn so little towards those vast fields of study which are certain to reward the toils of every explorer. Architecture is, in all ages, one of the principal sections of Industrial art in countries where it has been carried to any perfection. The buildings especially of the imaginative East with their carvings, decorations and general characteristics, will serve to give an insight into the general life, the thoughts and feelings of the age and society to which they owe their origin. It is a well-known fact that many ancient buildings and monuments have perished owing to causes appropriately classed by European scholars under the general name of Vandalism. The ruthless hand of the Moslem conqueror in many places pulled down Hindu halls and Hindu shrines for the sake of building mosques whose tall minarets and domes would stand as a perpetual insult and menace to the religion of the conquered. The indolent Hindus have in many cases allowed precious relics of bygone days to go to ruin owing to the natural action of air and rain and that vegetation which so easily splits up the largest buildings in the valleys of powerful rivers, such as the Ganges, the Brahmaputra, the Indus and the Nerbadda. Utilitarian English magistrates have in many cases pulled down the residences of ancient monarchs and dynasties and utilized the materials in building barracks, arsenals and cutcheries without even preserving a plan of the immortal buildings they were destroying. The traveller standing within the proud, crenelated, red walls of the forts of Agra and Delhi will be shown the spots where the harems and palaces

and sepulchres of far-famed dynasties once stood and as he stands with his whole being rapt up in admiration of those parts of the residences which have been allowed to descend to us, what would he not give even for securing a plan or a photograph of those buildings which have been replaced by the Indian Public Works Department by hideous structures in the shape of barracks, arsenals, cantonment Magistrates' Courts and tennis grounds? India is singularly favored by nature. Her eternal hills, some of whose crests are topped with eternal snow, her fertile valleys which open up long and level distances of ground, her smaller hills where are to be found some of the most picturesque of the cave temples of India, her secluded villages and lakes which will for ever remain the fittest spots for those religious meditations and that admiration of God and his works in becoming language of which her ancient literature affords so remarkable examples, are ready to be adapted for the use of permanent structures of wood and stone that might be required for political and religious grandeur. We have not remaining to us at the present day any monuments that can be truly identified as belonging to the age of the Hindu kings before the rise of Buddhism. The history of Indian architecture must date from the reign of the great Buddhist king Asoka whose administrative ability and taste have drawn the highest encomiums from scholars interested in the pure and simple dogmas of Buddhism. Asoka studded every part of his vast dominion with pillars, bearing inscriptions, with temples called *stupas*, which had again an outer structure familiarly known as *rahi* that would deserve a description by themselves, with public halls both for religious and civil purposes, with monasteries where hundreds of monks used to lead ascetic lives, and with splendid retreats and residences carved in the interior of the rock on the model of those which are so familiar to the European traveller in the Elephanta cave. Many of Asoka's buildings are also to be found in remote parts of the Asiatic continent, in further India, in Java and Cambodia, where the Buddhist faith still prevails, and where they are in a comparatively better state of preservation. In India itself there are many remarkable Buddhist structures either belonging to the reign of Asoka or those monarchs who succeeded him before Buddhism ceased to be the religion of the state. The pillars of Asoka are found in many parts of the country and give us important information with reference to the political history of that reign. The stupendous temples at Sanchi, near Bhanu in Central India, at Sarnath near Benares, at Buddh Gaya within easy distance of Patna, and those beyond the present scientific

frontier at Gándhára, Jelalabad and Manikyala, with external rails and decorations such as exist up to this date at Bharhut, Múra, Sanchi and Amerávali, the monasteries and religious caves at Nassic, Ajunta, and Ellora, not to speak of less important places, embody the cardinal doctrines and conceptions of the Buddhistic faith. They are not unworthy the eloquence in prose and verse of Sir Edwin Arnold. The Juna religions, which played an important part in Indian history after the decline of Buddhism, have left some traces in enduring monuments. These are to be found mostly in Central and Western India. With the single exception of the temple on Parasnath hill in Bengal, these monuments would give evidence that powerful faiths lived mostly out of Upper India. Jaina temples are to be found in profusion at Mount Abu, at Palitana, Girnar and Ahmadabad in Gujarat and on and in the interior of the rocks of the Bombay Presidency. The Jaina style of architecture had some peculiar features, especially in the matter of using horizontal arches and domes of building and carving pillars, and in the sculptures and masses of decorations which were often kept so subdued that they in no way interfered with either the general outline or the effect of the masses. The later Jaina style is exempted in many buildings which had been converted into mosques and whose spacious courtyards, rows of pillars, and general construction made them well adapted for the purposes of the followers of Islam. The monuments of Hindu architecture still extant are later in date to the Juna and Buddhist edifices named above and should be considered under several distinctive heads. The temples of Benares, Bundaban, Gwalior and Udaipur are, some of them, very remarkable, but they are comparatively modern in date. The palaces and cenotaphs of many of the historic cities of Rajputana are still more modern, and with rare exceptions belong mostly to the last century when the Rajput and the Maharatta princes were in a state of comparative affluence at the practical downfall of the Mogal sway. The Himalayas presented always a vantage ground whereon to build temples. Their high altitude, and the grand and sublime sceneries that are to be found there, inevitably turned the thoughts of man to things higher and purer than those to be found in common life, and the architecture of the Himalayas presents a most interesting chapter for study and reflection. Kashmir has always been noted for its natural scenery and in this respect it need not fear comparison with any other part of the world. It has temples, which will repay careful attention bestowed upon them, at Marikard, Avantipore and Bhanyar. Nepal has been always

the seat of powerful dynasties whose military prowess was well-recognized in the neighbouring kingdoms. The kings of Nepal adorned their capital with shrines which exhibit a rude and simple style, but are noted for solidity and mass of structure. The lovely valley of Kangra, which has now attracted attention for its teas and its views of the snowy range beyond, has also furnished us with some specimens of Hindu temples that cannot be passed over. In the province of Orissa are to be found some specimens of Hindu temples, which have now, (thanks to the industry of Stirling, Hunter and Rajendralala Mitra), been well-known to the civilized world. With the exception of the far-famed temple of Juggernath the Urya temples situated in Bhubaneshwar, Karnau, Rajapur and Cuttuck were erected under the great Kesari dynasty. The general consensus of opinion among antiquarians fixes A.D. 473, as the date when the province of Orissa passed under the rule of the "Lion line," as Sir William Hunter calls them. Each of the great temples there is a landmark of the style of architecture adopted, their dimensions being far from contemptible and their elevation and structure affording a singularly solemn and pleasing aspect. They have been described and photographed and classified by the late Rajah Rajendralala Mitra, with the precision of a scientific man studying for scientific purposes. India owes in this respect much to the indefatigable energy and industry of the European scholars who have carried on the work of antiquarian research often in hours snatched from pressing public duties. Many of them were not familiar with the forms and affinities of Hindu architecture and thus have drawn inferences which require to be revised by Indian scholars of local experience and knowledge. The temple of Juggernath, which has now acquired a world-wide celebrity, is the work of the Ganga Vansa which succeeded the Kesari dynasty about 1131 A.D. The temple, which is a stupendous edifice with a double enclosure and considerable proportions, is inferior in sculptural ornament, in decoration and finish of details, to other buildings of the same age. Its traditions exhibit a materially altered condition of belief in the common people. The suspension of caste prejudices within its precincts, the tradition that a bone of Krishna is contained in the image of Juggernath, the Ratha Jatra which is conducted in a peculiar style, and other things of the sort, are foreign to the ordinary dogmas and customs of Hinduism and seem to be a mixture of that faith with some of the forms of a degraded Buddhism. Rajah Rajendra Lal Mitra's work on the antiquities of Orissa which gives copious illustrations will convey an adequate idea of what Indian art really was in its

developed state in a part of the country where it was remarkably free from Egyptian, Venetian, or Saracenic influence in any shape or form. Hindu rock-cut temples abound near Poonah and Dharwar, and some of these Hindu excavations are the finest specimens from an architectural point of view. Their elegant shape, their arrangement of pillars and cells, as well as their forms appropriate for cave architecture, their delicacy of execution and their innumerable inscriptions, make them a class separate by itself. Those of our readers who have any knowledge of the Madras Presidency are well acquainted with the numerous pagodas that are to be found in that part of India. The temples of Seringham, Ramesseram, Madura, Tinnevely, Conjeveram, Vellore, Bijaynagar, Tanjore, as well as rock cut temples of Mahvellipore, Kylas, and Ellora, are all erected in what is known as the Dravidian style. The Turanian race which dwelt in the benighted Presidency concentrated all their architectural efforts to the service of religion and their temples are always very picturesque in effect. These exhibit an amount of labour, bestowed as a tribute to the gods without stint, which has conquered immense difficulties in the way having given employment to the surplus population. Nearly one-fourth of the population of Southern India occupied themselves entirely with temple-building, and though the aristocracy of Southern India who caused those to be built had no great and lofty ideas, as well as no such hankering after immortality as haunted the Egyptian noblemen, they persevered in building splendid halls, courts, cells, pillars and *gopuras* during the whole of the 17th and 18th centuries and they have achieved results which are truly astonishing. The images of the gods of Southern India are placed in dark and cubical cells, with porches and court yards that are lofty and spacious and the whole building was adorned with a succession of *gopuras* that served as entrances and that displayed the most elaborate carving and design. The great pagoda at Tanjore, and the temple of Subramanya at the same place, are adorned with the most exquisite sculptures, and the *gopuras* give all the prominent emblems of the religion of Vishnu. The Dravidian style died out when the Madras Presidency came within the scope of European influence. The modern palaces of the Rajas of Ramnad, Travancore and Mysore, as well as those of the Nawabs of the Carnatic, are built in the Italian style. It is a fact that is well-known in the history of Indian antiquities that the Nizam's territories are as yet to be regarded as *terra incognita* with reference to this branch of knowledge as they have not as yet been architecturally surveyed. The

Bahmani dynasty, the Hindu kingdom of Vijaynagar and the Mahomedan kingdoms of Bijapur, Ahmednagar, Golconda, Bidar and Berar, did exist in this part of India for some centuries. The Hindus being the principal and the most important part of the population of those kingdoms, the style of architecture employed is principally the Hindu Chaluckyan style though in the Moslem kingdoms it received a slight admixture of the Saracenic forms. The Kirti stambha at Wainagal, the temples of Somnathpur and Baillur, and the magnificent ruins of Hullabid are the best specimens yet known of the Chaluckyan style, which attained its highest perfection in the province of Mysore about A D 1300. The temples at Hullabid which were built of an enduring potstone, very close-grained and of a creamy color, had very enduring qualities and the minutest details still stand forth, clear and sharp. Their curves are developments of the highest mathematical forms, and the construction has been aptly described as severe and godlike, with every optical defect foreseen and provided for. The Indo Aryan style, which is prominently exemplified in the temples of the last century, has been developed in those parts of India where Moslem influences had been very strong. The Golden temple of Amritsar, which, though in name a temple is really a monotheistic place of prayers built by Ranjit Singh is a splendid example of this style. But the ancient buildings of India that have more than any other attracted the prominent attention of the civilized nations of Europe and America, are those built by the Mahomedan conquerors of India and are all in the Saracenic style. The palaces and sepulchres of Agra and Delhi were described some centuries ago by Roe and Bernier and all subsequent travellers have devoted time and attention to them. They have been drawn, described and photographed almost as frequently and with as much enthusiasm as the ruins of Rome, Athens and Venice. This class of buildings have all been built on an uniform plan and their study is peculiarly fascinating to European minds. The earlier architectural monuments of the Pathans are also all to be found in accessible and pleasant places in Upper India, and they are built in a different style of architecture from the tombs, sepulchres, cenotaphs, palaces and forts of the later Mogul sovereigns. They assume a local individuality of their own in Bengal where the cities of Gour the ancient capital as well as Dacca a later capital exhibit some remarkable examples. The luxuriant vegetation of Bengal as well as its damp climate is peculiarly unsuited for the preservation of architectural monuments and the ruins to be found now are comparatively few. The Pathan style is exemplified best in the Kutab



Minar, the tombs and palaces of Allauddin, the edifices with which the reigning Moslem sovereigns of Jounpur and Gujerat adorned their kingdoms, which long remained independent as well as in some isolated instances in the tableland of Malwa. The Kutub Minar which is a unique structure is exceeded in height only by the Campanile at Florence built by Grotto but it stands unrivalled in its poetry of design and finish of detail. As it shoots up with its richly-carved belts and balconies to a height of 242 ft. and stands far apart from any mass of structure that might detract from the solemnity of the scene, its towering height in the dark-blue Indian sky has a noble and imposing appearance. There are many buildings and tombs strewn in the fields of Old Delhi, which are built in the earlier Pathan style. The later style of the Pathans can be traced from many other monuments which are to be found on the same fields in profusion as well as in several other places in Southern India where Pathan viceroys had raised the standard of revolt and had founded independent kingdoms. The Mogul architecture begins with the tomb of Humayan near Delhi which was begun by that sovereign and finished by his son. During Akber's reign were built the Fort with its sandstone palaces at Agra, the palaces of Fatehpur Sikri having a high archaeological value, the tomb beneath which his own remains have mingled with the dust, and other minor things which have now disappeared. Akber's buildings display marble trellis-work of the most beautiful patterns, and arabesque tracery of the highest finish. During Jehangir's reign the capital was at Lahore and his buildings have mostly perished owing to the spoliation of the Sikhs who have plundered his sepulchre of its most costly materials for adorning their own temple at Amritsar. The tomb of Etimad-Doulah on the left bank of the river Jumna belongs to this reign and it was the first specimen in the work of inlaying marble with precious stones such as agates, bloodstones, jaspers, &c. This art is but feebly represented in this tomb but was carried to perfection in the Taj Mahal to which, according to the unanimous opinion of antiquarian scholars, travellers, and artists, the first place has been assigned among the edifices of the world. Shah Jehan, who succeeded Jehangir, gave India the best specimens of Saracenic architecture that she possesses. In his reign the bold designs and the Hindu squares of Akber had given place to the more elegant and feeble prettiness of polished marble inlaid with precious stones shaped into arabesques of flowers. The palace at Delhi, the peacock throne, the Mati Masjid at Agra and the Juma Masjid at Delhi, are the principal objects of architecture

that have come down to posterity. The Taj Mehal, with its extreme delicacy of material, boldness of conception, and finish of execution, its cool and lovely garden, its magnificent gateway, its chastened terrace, its exquisite workmanship, its evergreen foliage, its marble fountains, and grace and purity of construction, is universally admitted to be immaculate and the noblest embodiment of the architectural talents of the human race. The Mati Masjid and the palace at Delhi are all built in the same style of architecture and display some one or other of the above qualities. Indian art fast declined after the death of Shah Jehan and the buildings of the reign of Aurungzebe are not only much inferior in design but absolutely worthless in execution. The tomb of Aurungzebe near the caves of Ellora is an insignificant structure, and his successors were too weak and had too troublesome reigns to devote any talents to architecture. Ruskin says, in that lecture on war which is considered by eminent authorities to be the best address on the subject, that art can spring up only among a military people and that there can be none among a pastoral race. The Moslem races, indeed, exemplify this truth with peculiar force. Their buildings, which are to be found from the plains of India across the Golden Horn to the hills and levels of Cordova and Granada, were all built at a period when their prowess was foremost in the field and they were carrying the doctrines of their prophet to distant corners of Asia and Europe through fire and sword. After the decline of the Mogul empire the Maharatta, Rajput and the Mahomedan chiefs in all parts of India erected edifices for public and private use. They exhibit no special characteristics and are mostly imitations of a degenerated and mixed style. They do not deserve anything but a passing mention in the history of Indian architecture. Indian architecture thus exhibits five principal divisions, *viz.* (1) the Buddhist Style, (2) the Jaina Style, (3) the Dravidian Style, (3) the Hindu and Indo-Aryan Style, (4) the Chalukyan Style and (5) the Saracenic Style. Before we pass on to other branches of the Industrial Arts of India it is our intention to take a rapid survey of the various results of the industry and talents of Indian workmen in the principal ancient buildings of India. This study, which we venture to hope we shall be able to put in as popular a form as possible, will neither be uninteresting nor unprofitable. What educated and cultured native of India would not like to know something of the great architectural achievements of his mother country in bygone days, and where is that person with a tincture of love and sympathy for his fellow-countrymen, who, when his circumstances permit its being

done, will not give due encouragement to those talents and that workmanship in the architectural line which is unfortunately fast becoming extinct from this country? The present writer will feel thankful if his papers induce some of those in whose hands they will be placed to pursue their studies in this subject from those learned treatises which are the results of years of secluded labour and research. Living in the city of the Taj Mahal and having had an opportunity of seeing most of the historic buildings of Rajputana, Central India, Gujrat and the modern buildings of a debased style in Bombay and Calcutta, one would be something less than human if he did not strive to acquaint himself with all the important information with reference to the arts and architecture of past and modern India. This subject will, no doubt, necessitate the introduction of many technical terms, but it is certainly worth one's while to take the trouble of mastering them to be able to appreciate the thoroughly profitable and enjoyable study to which they are the stepping-stone, and unavoidable helpmates.

SATYA CHANDRA MUKERJI.

## OUR JOURNEY TO URYA-LAND

## CHAPTER IX

Our countrymen should take up the question of the future land settlement of Orissa. It is now a temporary settlement, the term of which will shortly expire. People are apprehensive lest the next settlement might prove a tighter screw than the one in existence. Barring a very few Estates, the *jama* of which is settled in perpetuity, the settlement of Government Revenue is for a term of years. The *Int-bandi* or the Sunset law is as much rigorous here as elsewhere. People do not appear to complain of the rates, which as far as we have been able to judge, are moderate. What they want is a Permanent Settlement—much on the lines we have in Bengal. Such an institution, if granted, would prove a veritable boon to our Urya brethren and would enormously further their economical condition.

The average Urya Zairindir under the existing Settlement is after all a poor individual. Those who have the reputation of being rich, owe their wealthiness not to the profits of land but to trade and money-lending. Unfortunately for Orissa, the manufacture of salt has ceased to be a busy calling at the present day. Money-lending is however a full swing and must continue to be so till the financial condition of the peasantry become more hopeful. Famines in Orissa and elsewhere in India do not imply the scarcity of grain but the paralysis of the buying means of the poor. In Bengal, the peasant has frequently the advantage of the *Zairindir* in respect of his holding. This advantage the Urya peasant cannot possibly have so long as the land Revenue is temporarily settled. To the eternal glory of Act X of 1859, the ryot here has the blessings of a right of occupancy, and an occupancy-ryot is not liable to eviction except when he happens to be a defaulter in the payment of rent, or a violator of any stipulation of his lease.

The Urya peasant is awfully poor, and his economical condition is destined to remain unchanged for many a year to come. This is ascribable to dame Nature's unkindness. He has generally to till upon a rocky or sandy soil. There is less moisture in the soil here than in Lower Bengal, and the Canals which were intended for irrigation have not proved to be an unmixed blessing. What with the unpopular Canal rating, and the still more un-

popular administration of the Irrigation Laws, the Canal-system has well nigh brought on an exhaustion of the soil. For the maintenance of the canals it has become necessary to dam up the principal water-courses of the province, and this has considerably interfered with the free inundation of lands, below the dams. The deposit of alluvial matter for invigorating the land, has considerably diminished, and the rivers themselves threaten to become in the immediate future, large tracts of silts. People think that the canals have proved to be a White Elephant in Urya-land. It is rather funny, that in the dry season, when water is most wanted, the Canals should be dry as hay. So much for the cause of Irrigation of the soil by means of Canal-water!

The only crop which the Urya peasant cares to grow is paddy. Jute and sugarcane are grown in sandy tracts. Tobacco is also grown, but not to a considerable extent. In the vicinity of towns they are beginning to grow vegetables—such as potatoes, cabbages and cauliflowers.

The Uryas as a race are extremely frugal. The masses cook only once. Their morning meal is *Pakala* rice, or rice cooked on the previous day and soaked in water. It is certainly a cool and nourishing food. Scientific people say, that hydrocele and elephantiasis and other similar diseases which are very common in this province, are due to the beloved *Pakala*.

Labour in Orissa is cheaper than elsewhere. This is another proof of the poverty of the people. Manufactured articles are cheaper here than in Bengal, and so is skilled labour. In carpentry and goldsmith's craft, the Urya is much on a par with his brethren of Bengal. Cuttack is noted for wood-work and filigree work. The Telugu inhabitants here are pretty good weavers, though the texture spun may not be as fine as that of Dacca or Chandernagore.

There is good deal of ganja smoking and opium eating and smoking, in Orissa. The lower classes stand in need of these drugs to ward off rheumatic affections, which are rather common.

Drinking is not so common, though among certain lower classes the vice has permeated through, and the outstill-system is expanding more and more.

The Urya-woman is very much like her Bengali-sister, though her attire is somewhat different from that of Bengala's woman-kind. Uryanis are terribly fond of ornamentation, and one might see them carrying about their person as much as quarter of a maund of brass ornaments. These are solid massive things, which an Amazon may utilize as weapons of offence or defence.

think these daughters of Eve are stronger and abler-bodied than our Bengal Beauties.

## CHAPTER X.

I intensely like the Uryas clinging to their nationality, which alas! in Bengal has almost become defunct. When the first Urya gentleman relieved himself of the tuft of hair in the centre of his head, it created quite a revolution in the land. Even now, with Reform and progressiveness all around, the *Sikka* in the head is the rule, and *sans Sikha*, the exception. Urya-sociology still possesses much cohesiveness, which we in Bengal might well envy. In Bengal towns, every body, high or low, is his own master. In Orissa, the Village-Punch or commune, still yields authority supreme. Even in Urya-towns, such authority has a real existence. There is hardly a case coming into our courts, which had not been manipulated by the *Bhuloka* or 'the good people.' For breach of every petty social rule or canon, the social elders still inflict punishment, which is either a fine, or excommunication, either for a term of years, or in perpetuity. And the punishment falls upon the unhappy delinquent with the certainty of a divine visitation. A cow-herd, in the house of a friend of mine, having in a fit of rage stoned a cow to death, was excommunicated for six months and fined heavily by his castemen, for his sacrilegious act. Like every other institution of man, caste has its good and bad features here as elsewhere. It is considered to be pollution to touch a *Pân* or *Kandra*, who belongs to the lowest strata of Urya society. But caste-system in Orissa allows a promotion of individuals from an inferior to a superior caste. Whereas in Bengal, a helot must remain a helot, with his progeny till the end of time. In Orissa it is not so. Such is the stringency of the caste-system, even now, that an Urya would not get into a hackney-coach, because *Jehû* belongs to an inferior caste. He will not even help a cooly to alight his burden, because the latter is a *Pân* or other low casteman.

The Brahmanical class in Orissa exhibits certain ethnological features, which deserve a passing notice. Some of them possess excellent culture and are good Sanskritists. Others are worse than Sudras in point of knowledge and erudition. A large number of Brahmins till up lands with their own hand, and are no better than hewers of wood and drawers of water. To them the sobriquet of *Sârûya* Brahmin is usually applied, *Sârû* being the Bengal *Kachû* (colocasi antiquoran), a crop extensively grown in Urya land and extensively consumed by people high and low.

It is the Brahmin's craft to sell cocoanuts—by carrying them on his head from door to door.

Urya Brahmins generally take up priest-craft for their general calling. Most of them hold Amrita-monohic land. It is the land belonging to the endowment of Jagannath. Then there are the *Sasan* lands in every important village, which are held by the rural sacerdotal commune under the superintendence of a Brahminical elder, called the *Pānigrahi*. These *Sāsan* grants resemble our *Brahmutter* grants in Bengal—the difference being that the Urya-grantees are the whole Brahmanical population of the village instead of being particular individuals. *Sāsan* grants are very often matters of seething litigation in which the *Uryas* have become considerable adepts. Simple as the Uryas are in their habits and dispositions, it is a peculiar social phenomenon that they should be redoubtable combatants in our law-courts. Rather singular, that the Uryas are in the habit of denying true pedigree and relationship in cases involving such an issue. I have seen instances of such denial, not merely of distant relationship, but of near and immediate ones.

The *Mahantis*, whom Sir W. Hunter wrongly identifies with the *Maitis* of Bengal, occupy the highest rank among the non-Brahminical classes. They are the *Kayasthas* of Bengal, and are noted for intelligence and business capacities. I have ever liked the gentlemanly deportment of these people. Quill-driving is their ancestral calling, but they had a hand in the administration of the Province during the pre-British times. The present Amladom is the Mahanti-regime. Our office—*amlas*, mostly Mahantis, are by no means inferior to *Bengali* or *Behari* Amlas. Mahantis have considerable caste respectability. They are fair and handsome people.

It is quite a sight to see among the Uryas, the last vestige of the departed military spirit of the land. Cockneys, who suppose that the *Palki-bearer* in Calcutta is the highest form of evolution in Urya land, would be ashamed to learn that the *Behara*, (bearer), was the leader of an Urya-corps in the time of war. *Behara* is the abbreviation of *Dal-behara* or the leader of a band of men. *Dal-beharas*, *Dalais*, *Kotekarans* and *Bhuin-mang* are all military titles, still held by people with just pride. There are also the *Khandaits*, who were styled so, because they wielded the *Kharida* (*sharra*) swords for purposes of offence and defence. I have witnessed with interest the march of an Urya chief with his spearman and armed cortege. It looks like a theatrical dead March.

## JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

Whether as a poet, or as a critic, or as a statesman, the loss of James Russell Lowell is as serious to his countrymen on this side of the Atlantic as to his countrymen on the other —*Spectator*.

None the less serious is that loss to India where there is the light of English education. For the reason a biographical sketch of the great and good man just gone will, in all likelihood be acceptable to Indians and Anglo-Indians alike. I present the following notice to the readers, the materials of which have chiefly been gleaned from an American journal of repute. James Russell Lowell was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on the 22nd of February, 1819. Of a family of five-children—three sons and two daughters—he was the youngest. His father, the Rev Charles Lowell, D D, pastor of the West Congregational Church, Boston, was a man of high sense of honor and great powers of mind. His mother, Harriet Spence, a lady of Scottish extraction, was well versed in several languages and possessed of superior culture. It was, therefore, natural that Master Lowell should inherit all the best qualities of the parents. His grandfather, on his father's side, was the Hon'ble John Lowell. Among others he was a framer of the Constitution of the State before mentioned. It was he, through whose mighty exertions the words "all men are created free and equal" were inserted in the Bill of Rights attached to that Constitution. This was the sole instrument for abolishing the abominable trade in human beings known to us by the name of slavery. The Lowells trace their descent from the Rev. Percival Lowell, an Englishman who had gone over to America as early as 1639 and settled at Newburyport. "Elmwood," for that is the name of his residence at Cambridge, has historical associations of its own which I cannot but touch upon. It was built in 1703 by Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Oliver. It was disposed off by the Hon'ble Elbridge Gerry, who had given the weight of his name to the Declaration of Independence, and, later on, succeeded to the Vice-Presidentship of the United States. The house overlooks mount Auburn on one side and the Charles River on the



other. It is three-storied, spacious, painted yellow and trimmed white, and surrounded by acres of greens, gardens of flowers, and groves of maples, elms, oaks and chestnuts. Our poet, statesman, critic, and humorist was born and bred, and lived and died in this charming spot. It is so beautifully situated and so tastefully decorated, that it is easy to conceive how conducive it was to the development of Lowell's genius.

Keeping in view the popular maxim, that the parents are the best educator, his father initiated him into the secrets of letters,—his valuable library affording sufficient scope towards the attainment of the object. He was then sent to William Wells' School for boys. I purposely say boys. For there are schools established both in Europe and America, in which boys and girls are promiscuously taught. He was an intelligent boy. The progress he made promised his future greatness. Before he attained the age of sixteen he had been admitted into the Harvard College. He cut a sorry figure in the science of numbers, but was good in literature. In 1835 he took his Degree. At that time he composed his first poem, which was highly appreciated as a masterpiece of verse production. After this he was rusticated for indifferent attention to his course of study. Substituting to the punishment meted out he made for Concord, where he satirized Emerson and Carlyle. The former took little or no notice of the satire. It on the contrary led to that friendship between the two poets, a gem upon whose tie nothing but the death of Emerson severed. Lowell's choice then fell upon the legal profession. He began to study the law at the Harvard Law School and having taken the degree of LL.B. joined the Bar in 1840. He stuck to the profession as long as he was not able to get at the materials for the story he has written. It is entitled *My First Client*, which was published in the *Boston Miscellany*. From this time he devoted himself to literature. In 1841 he published the first volume of his poem—a personal narrative—called *A Year's Life*. It contained, in all, seventy poems, most of which the poet regarded as trash, the rest worthy of being reprinted. Reprinted they were accordingly under the name of *Earlier Poems* in the first of the four volumes which formed the new *Riverside Edition*, complete in ten volumes. Messrs Houghton Mifflin & Co. being the publishers. In 1843 he started the *Pioneer*, a first-class periodical. It had among its contributors such writers of world-wide reputation as Poe, Hawthorne, Whittier, Story and Browning. ~~By the time~~ at all that, it ceased to exist, having gone the round of three numbers only. In 1844 he published the second book of his

Poems containing *A Legend of Brittany*, *Prometheus*, *My Love*, and other poetical pieces. Of the *Legend*, Poe says that it was the "noblest poem yet written by an American." In the same year he was married to Miss Maria White—a gifted lady—a born poetess. Both the husband and the wife regularly contributed to the *Liberty Bell*. Most of his poems were published in the years 1843-46 in the *Anti-slavery Standard*, of which he was corresponding editor. Later on he took up his pen for the *Boston Courier*, in which appeared his *Biglow Papers* in 1846. It had two primary objects in view. The first was to preserve intact the dialect then in vogue of New England. The second was to contend against slavery. In him the Abolitionists found a staunch advocate of their cause. In 1848 too were published the *Vision of Sir Launfal* *Fable for Critics* and short poems collected in book form. The first is an allegorical didactic production. The second is a critical paper in the shape of a metrical composition. It is replete with *ban mots* and great felicity of expression. It is still unsurpassed both in Europe and America. Suffice it to say that it, as well as the *Biglow Papers*, made the author not only best known to the English but also best loved by them. He then successfully edited the *Atlantic Monthly* (1857-62). He was intimately connected with Dr. Charles Elliot Norton (1803-72) as far as the literary outfit of the *North American Review* was concerned. The year 1864 witnessed both of his *Five-de Travels*. It contains many excellent essays, possessing as they do intrinsic merits of their own. In 1865 appeared his *Under the Willows* a poetical work containing among other poems the much renowned *Commencement Ode*. For his poem entitled *My Brook*, he got, if I mistake not, 2000 dollars from the *New York Ledger*. *The Cathedral*, *My Study Windows*, and *Among my Books* were brought out in 1870. The last two have for their subject-matter such men as Lincoln, Carlyle, Emerson, Lessing, Dryden, Shakespeare, Rousseau, Keats, Dante, Spenser, Milton and Wordsworth. *A Certain Condescension in Foreigners* is a master piece both as regards diction and the patriotic feelings that pervade it. *My Study Windows* was for sometime past, if I remember right, entered in the course prescribed for the M. A. Students of the Calcutta University.

For two years (1851-52) he travelled in Europe, Italy in particular. In 1853 his wife died, and in the following year he sailed for home and delivered twelve lectures at the Lowell Institute, Boston, on the British poets, which were listened to with rapt attention. On the retirement of Longfellow from the

belles lettres at the Harvard College, he occupied it for nineteen years and thus did himself ample justice as the worthy successor of the great poet.

Lowell as a statesman did signal services to his own country and to the country or countries to which he was deputed on some political mission. In November, 1874, he was offered the ministership to Russia. But he declined it. In 1876, he served his native country of Massachusetts as Presidential Elector. In June, 1877, he was appointed a Plenipotentiary to the Spanish Court, wherefrom he was translated to the Court of St. James. "During the years" says the *Spectator* "in which he was American minister here (in England), he rendered the greatest services in drawing the two countries nearer to each other, and he rendered them with that frankness, simplicity, and refinement of manner, which has given rise to the remark that the most cultivated Americans seem to be incapable of that official pride and self-importance which so often destroys the charm of European diplomatists, and sometimes even of European statesmen." His political sojourn in England was conspicuous for the several literary addresses delivered on the occasion of the ceremony of unveiling the busts and statues of English literateurs, notably Fielding, Gray and Coleridge. The Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and Edinburgh conferred on him the degree of LL.D., while the University of St. Andrews made him its Lord Rector. The University of Oxford also offered a professorial chair, which he deemed it good to decline. And decline he did it. In 1882 he publicly advocated the cause of Revenue Reform and was made Vice-President of the Tariff Reform League of Boston—a high rank that nobody had held before him. He then delivered a lecture on Independence in Politics before the New York Reform Club. In England on the 19th of February, 1885 his wife died. In March the same year he was recalled by President Cleveland which put a stop to his political career,—a career which was as successful in the strictest sense of the term as his literary career was. On his return to his native land he married a second time.

On his return from England he had been always in indifferent health, which, I regret to say, prevented him from taking any active part either in literature or in politics, though he managed to supervise the publication of the addresses delivered by him before. These were collected in 1887 in book form having for its title *Democracy*. In 1888 a volume of poems entitled *Heartsease and Rue* appeared. About five weeks before his death, he had been taken ill of gout and liver complaints ac-

complicated by other complications. In the absence of his physician and friend in the person of Dr. Morrill Wyman, the Doctor's son-in-law Dr. Henry P. Walcott was called in. About two weeks before his death he became delirious. But subsequently he was better, the delirium having left him. He again felt unwell and died at 2-14 A.M. on Wednesday the 12th August last with these last words addressed to the nurse, while she was changing his bedding: "Oh, why don't you let me die?" His death was unusually peaceful. Nobody knew that he had breathed his last a few moments ago. The nurse, his daughter Mabel, her husband Mr. Burnett, the ex-congressman, and Mrs. Howe, his first wife's sister, were by the side of his death-bed. The notables of America formed the funeral *cortege*. Divine service was held in Appleton Chapel, Cambridge, at noon on Friday succeeding, all the churches in the city were all the while tolling knell. The mortal remains were interred in the family vault at Mount Auburn. By the order of Mr. Mayor Alger flags were hoisted half mast high.

Lowell is an acknowledged humourist. As a poet and critic, his position according to the estimation of his fellow-countrymen, is yet to be ascertained.

N. C. B.

## MICHAEL MADHU SUDAN DUTT.

### CHAPTER I 1823-1847.

#### FAMILY—EDUCATION—CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY

Madhu Sudan Dutt was born in the year 1828 at Sagurdari, an obscure village on the Kapotaksha, a small river in the district of Jessore. His father Raj Narain Dutt was a pleader by profession, and practised in the Old Sudder Dewanny Adawlat of Calcutta. He was a clever Persian scholar and from his proficiency in that language was generally known as Moonshi Raj Narain. Madhu Sudan's mother Iahnavi Dasi was the daughter of the Zemindar of Katpara in Jessore. Raj Narain had three sons of whom our poet was the eldest. His two other sons died in infancy. Like all Hindu children of those days, Madhu Sudan learnt the rudiments of his mother-tongue at the village *Pathshala*. In after life when our poet was residing in Calcutta, his old *Guru* (teacher) used to visit him there from time to time, and was invariably treated with respect and consideration by his distinguished pupil.

At thirteen years of age, Madhu Sudan was taken away from the tuition of the village *guru* and brought down to Kidderpore where his father had taken up his quarters for the purpose of his professional practice at the Sudder Dewany Adawlat; Bbowanipore and its vicinity up to this day being the favourite place of most of our practitioners of the High Court. At fourteen our poet was entered of Hindu College where he prosecuted his studies till his twentieth year. Here his aversion to mathematical studies was remarkable. In the hour of the mathematical tutor Mr. Rees, he was seen either to leave his class altogether, or to pass his time in studying his favourite poems or novels. Literary studies alone were congenial to his taste; and his admiration for the poetical genius of Shakespeare and Milton was unbounded. It is said that one day he had a long and hot discussion with some of his mathematical fellow-students. The latter held that Shakespeare could not be Newton even if he tried, while the former maintained that Newton could never be Shakespeare. This discussion over, Madhu

Sudan came home and applied himself assiduously for some days in succession to the study of Mathematics, to make up his deficiency in that branch of learning. Some days afterwards, Mr. Rees set a problem to his class which completely baffled the attempts both of the teacher himself and of his ablest mathematical pupils. Madhu Sudan who had been as usual poring all the time over one of his favourite poems observed the silence which pervaded the class and remarked to a form-fellow at his elbow that the problem appeared to him to be very easy of solution. This strange and unusual remark from one whose deficiency in mathematics was notorious excited laughter in the class, and drew the attention of the professor himself. Poor Madhu was next hauled up before the blackboard amidst the glee and ridicule of the whole class. His fellow-students were laughing in their sleeves in the expectation of witnessing the sad discomfiture of one whom they deemed as no better than a pretentious fool. The butt of this ridicule—this presumptuous East Bengal lad—rubbed the blackboard, took up the chalk, drew the diagram and quietly worked out the problem in two minutes to the utter astonishment of the professor and the pupils. Madhu Sudan triumphantly resumed his seat remarking to his mathematical antagonists of the other day, "and so Shakespeare could be Newton if he tried."

In general literature and English composition our poet was second to none of his contemporaries at the Hindu College. He carried off a prize for writing the best essay "on the importance of educating Hindu Females, with reference to the improvement which it may be expected to produce on the education of children in their early years, and the happiness it would generally confer on domestic life." A native gentleman offered a Gold Medal for the best, and a Silver Medal for the second best Essay on this subject. Mr. C. H. Cameron, the Examiner awarded the Gold Medal to Madhu Sudan who was then (1842-43) in the 2nd class, Hindoo College. I think it proper to insert the whole essay, which was a short one, in this place.

"The subject, of which the present one is but a branch, was once about a year or two ago proposed for competition amongst the natives of Bengal, and is no longer an untrod path. The masterly pen of the Rev. gentleman (Baboo K. M. Banerjee, who carried off the palm, has amply treated it in all its ramifications in his excellent and very beautiful 'Essay.' Though it is almost hopeless for a school-boy to follow so great a master with anything like distinction, (the very attempt to do so being a kind of literary sacrilege) yet as I am called upon to offer my unpremeditated

thoughts on the subject, I cannot but hope that indulgent reader will (to request him in the language of the poet.)

"Be to their faults a little blind,  
And to their virtues very kind."

"It is a fact, almost as undisputed as any axiom of Euclid, that nothing can be more difficult for a man than to emancipate his mind from impressions left upon it in youth,—the season of his life wherein the mind, like wax, receives and retains anything inculcated upon it—and that the notions and prejudices which he imbibes in his younger days, exert a very great influence over him in his after life.

"In nothing, therefore, we ought to be more careful than in selecting nurses for our children; for there is scarcely anything that exerts a more pernicious influence over the early education of a child than the ignorance of its nurse. Many people have been unable to give up their belief in the existence of Ghosts, notwithstanding the strong remonstrances of reason, and the evidence of Science, because the impressions left on the mind by the idle tales heard or recited in the nursery could not be effaced! It is needless to dwell upon the numerous benefits a child may derive from an educated nurse. In a country like India, where the *nurse-ship* (if I may so call the office of a nurse) generally devolves on the mother, the importance of educating the females, (the sources from which man gathers the first rudiments of knowledge), is very great; for unless they are enlightened, they spread the infection of their ignorance in the minds of those they bring up. Extensive dissemination of knowledge amongst women is the surest way that leads a nation to civilization and refinement, for it is woman who first gives ideas to the future philosopher and the would-be poet. The happiness of a man who has an enlightened partner is quite complete! The very idea of so sweet a possession awakens even in the most prosaic bosoms feelings truly poetical. Who is there that would not give up

All Bokhara's vaunted gold  
And all the Gems of Samarcand,

for it? This is surely what a Poet calls—

"The Foretaste of the joys of Heaven."

In India, I may say in all the Oriental countries, women are looked upon as created merely to contribute to the gratification of the animal appetites of men. This brutal misconception of the design of the Almighty is the source of much misery to the fair sex, because

it not only makes them appear as of inferior mental endowments,—but no better than a sort of *speaking brutes*. The people of this country do not know the pleasures of domestic life, and indeed they cannot know, until civilisation shows them the way to attain to it."

In 1842 while young Madhu was still a student of the Hindu College, his acquaintance with Rev. K. M. Banerjee commenced. This gentleman writes, "I was then living in Cornwallis Square as minister of Christ Church. He called one day and introduced himself to me as a religious inquirer *almost persuaded to be a Christian*. After two or three interviews and a great deal of conversation, I was impressed with the belief that his desire of becoming a Christian was scarcely greater than his desire of a voyage to England. I was unwilling to mix up the two questions, and while I conversed with him on the first, I candidly told him that I could lend him no help as regarded the second question. He seemed somewhat disheartened and came to me less frequently after that. \* \* \* \* \* One day I incidently mentioned to a friend of mine, high in office, the curious case of a student of the Hindu College wishing at the same time to be a Christian and to go to England. My friend felt very much interested in the case and expressed a desire of seeing the enterprising youth. I mentioned the fact to Dutta when I saw him next and at his own desire I gave him a note of introduction to the gentleman I have referred to. That gentleman received him very cordially and gave him every encouragement in his views, and even introduced him to Mr. Bird, then Deputy Governor of Bengal.

"Mr. Datta was subsequently baptised in the Old Church by Archdeacon (afterwards Bishop) Dealthy. I was present as a 'chosen witness' at the ceremony. It was I think early in the year 1843. \* \* \* \* \*. He (Datta) must have of his own accord read and reflected on the subject (the doctrines of the Christian religion) for when he introduced himself to me, he was, as I have said, already almost persuaded to be a christian. I do not remember the exact date of his entry into Bishop's College. I fancy it was in the course of the year 1843. \* \* \* \* \*. He entered as a 'lay student' and the College charges were paid by his father—about Rs. 60 per month.

"Symptoms of Datta's poetical talent had appeared, while he was a student of the Hindoo College. He was fond of writing English verses and at his baptism was sung by the congregation to the music of the Church organ an English hymn composed by himself for the occasion. But he never wrote anything at that time in



Bengali which he affected to hold in utter contempt as 'a patois.' He was a person of great intellectual power,—somewhat flighty in his imagination, strong in his opinions and sentiments, of an independent mind and very tenacious of personal rights. This brought him into a momentary collision with the authorities of Bishop's College about his 'dress.'

"The ecclesiastical authorities had an idea at that time that natives of India should not be encouraged to imitate the English dress—the tail coat and the beaver hat. It would have been infinitely better if they had not interfered with questions beyond their province—for it was this interference which goaded a fiery spirit like Datta's into an obstinate resistance. The collegiate costume was a black cassock and band and the square cap. There was nothing in these things that was peculiarly English. The authorities wished him to put on a white cassock instead of black. Datta said *'either the collegiate costume or his own national dress.'* The former not being allowed Datta appeared in the latter—which was a white silk kaba with a coloured turban like the pleader's headpiece and a shawl roomal worked all over. This looked too much like a fancy dress to be held as suitable for a student of Bishop's College. I did not 'intervene' as you had heard I had no right to do so, but the senior Professor consulted me on the subject saying *his dress had more colours than the rainbow.* I cannot say that they were going to strike his name off the rolls—the authorities were certainly annoyed. The upshot of the thing was that Datta was allowed to wear the usual college costume which he adopted for use in college, and took to the English coat and beaver hat as his habit in society out of college.

"He left College, I believe, on his father discontinuing the payment of College charges. A great many students of Bishop's College were of the Presidency of Madras, and having contracted cordial friendship with some of them, Datta was induced to go with them to Madras as an adventurer."

Latin and Greek formed a part of the curriculum of study at Bishop's College. Being gifted by nature with a remarkable aptitude for language, Michael Madhu Sudan Dutt made a marvellous progress in these two difficult languages in a comparatively short time. It was here that our future poet and linguist first learned to read and admire the master singers of ancient Greece and Rome.

Madhu Sudan, I have already said, was the only son of his father. It was difficult for the latter under the circumstances to sever his connection altogether from his son, although he had re-

nounced the religion of his ancestors and embraced Christianity. An affectionate father of a wayward child, Moonshi Raj Narain continued to supply his son with his requisite expenses at Bishop's College for a period of four years and even attempted though fruitlessly his restoration to Hindu Society. At length a disagreement with his father arising out of a very trivial matter resulted in the discontinuance of the payment of his necessary charges and put an end to his College career.

He was now placed in a very critical position. An outcast from the society in which he was brought up from his infancy, an apostate from the faith of his fathers, a disobedient and almost discarded son of an affectionate parent, he was cast adrift in the world while scarcely out of his teens. His prospects were gloomy all around. But his was not the spirit to be daunted by such a dreary spectacle. He must chalk out a path in life for himself. He therefore made up his mind to leave this province at once and try his fortune in a distant part of the country. He had no alternative left him but of leaving for Madras as an adventurer, with some of his fellow students of that presidency.

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# THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE

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*SIR CHARLES ELLIOTT.*

The decentralization of finance was, perhaps, the most beneficent measure of Lord Mayo's brief regime. Up to his time the provincial governments had dipped at their own sweet will into the imperial exchequer, and extravagance with its inevitable results was universal. In 1871 came into force that which is known as the contract system: by which local governments were allotted certain definite sums to cover the charges of the chief departments under them, and were informed that any excess on the debit side of their ledger must be covered by local taxation. The weak point in their scheme was the inelasticity of the resources placed at the disposal of the provincial authorities. This inconvenience was remedied in 1878 by the assignment to them of the revenue derived from certain branches of the administration such as excise, stamps, law and justice, and the like: the Supreme Government reserving to itself a share only in the future increase of revenue under these heads. This statesmanlike measure infused new life into the dry bones of provincial administration. Satraps had now for the first time a direct interest in economy and in the development of their resources. From the epoch of the contract system, dates that steady expansion of our revenues which has enabled the exchequer to meet the heavy losses entailed by the depreciated rupee. The term of the contracts between

the Imperial and Local Governments is five years; that entered into in 1882 expiring in 1887. To facilitate the impending reorganization of finances Lord Dufferin, in March 1886, appointed a Committee of experts with power to scrutinize the Expenditure of every department of the Empire and to suggest large economies. Mr. Elliott's vast experience of similar functions pointed him out as the man of all others for the direction of this enquiry. He was, therefore, named Chairman of the Committee. With him were associated Sir Henry Cunningham, Sir W. Hunter, the Hon'ble M. Ranade, Colonel Filgate and Messrs. T. Westland, Bliss and Hardie. The Committee's preliminary labours were facilitated by the appointment of Sub-committees to deal with the various departments. Printed notes were drawn up summarizing the information required and suggestions received, and were circulated among departmental chiefs. On receipt of replies to these, all persons responsible for expenditure were invited to confer with the Committee and clear up points of doubt. Visits were paid by delegates from the Committee to the head quarters of each government, and strenuous efforts were made to digest and systematize the enormous mass of details within the limited period allowed by the Government of India. The task proved impossible of fulfilment; and, in December 1886 the Committee submitted a report which was necessarily incomplete. It is comprised in two folio blue-books of nearly a thousand pages. The first volume related to the forthcoming contracts for 1887, and the second to departmental and miscellaneous expenditure. To follow the Committee through the labyrinth of facts and figures in which their enquiries are recorded would require a volume; and it is to be feared that our readers would find it as imbued with "disgusting dryness" as Bishop Burnet did the *magnus opus* of Lord Clarendon. That which shines conspicuous throughout is Mr. Elliott's amazing power of manipulating figures and his capacity for entering into details. His conclusions were not accepted without demur from some of his colleagues: Sir H. Cunningham\* and Mr. Ranade being conspicuous in the extent and number of their protests. A large majority, however, were accepted by the supreme government: and the contracts which are now about to expire were based on the Committee's recommendations. The annual gain to the Indian exchequer by the economies suggested was, in round figures Rs. 1,280,000—nearly a million sterling at the rates of exchange then current. In the course of 1887 the threads laid down by the Committee were taken up by Mr. Elliott in the capacity of Finance

Commissioner with the Government of India; and a blue-book of 660 pages compiled by him discusses the subjects untouched by the defunct Committee. The insight which the three volumes afford into the mechanism of administration in British India lead us to question the universal applicability of Count Oxenstiern's views as to the little wisdom shown in the art of government. We are most of us too prone to accept the noiseless working of the state machine as a matter of course, and to ignore the vast amount of skill and labour it involves while we lay the utmost stress on the failures which must beset the course of every human institution. Mr. Elliott's Committee dragged many anomalies and some abuses to the light of day. It is tolerably certain however, that no other empire in the world has less to conceal or would have borne so successfully a piercing scrutiny.

Hardly had Mr. Elliott completed this task ere he was called upon by Lord Dufferin to assume the portfolio of Public Works Minister, for such *de facto* is the Member of Council who has this great department in his charge. Every high official who has illustrated this office has had his peculiar hobby. Mr. Elliott's bent lay strongly towards our railway system. There was doubtless much in its complicated mechanism and the immense variety of economic questions which its working involves that appealed to his severely practical mind and to his instincts as a born administrator. Hardly had he taken his seat in Council than he threw himself with characteristic vigour into the great controversy of private *versus* public enterprise in railways. The question is destined to exert so vast an influence on the history of civilization that a brief retrospect of its phases may not be out of place. England, the mother of railways, was at the time of their birth permeated with the doctrine of *laissez-faire*. Statesmen and economists were for the most part agreed that the function of the state stopped at the preservation of order, and that the fullest scope should be given to the impulse they were pleased to term "enlightened self-interest." There was much in our past history which justified this view. Our commerce, and indeed our Empire itself, had been the slow evolution of private enterprise. Hence the activity which was the reverse of masterly characterized the conduct of the state as regards the wondrous discovery. The right of constructing new lines was allowed to become a bone of contention between rival promoters whose struggles for victory in the courts and before Parliamentary Committees increased three-fold the initial cost of our railways and has left England with a system marred by many serious defects. Our example was followed by

the United States, where 160,000 miles of railways are in the hands of 600 private companies. With few exceptions the lines are exploited by unscrupulous wirepullers who pile up vast fortunes at the expense of a long-suffering public. In Italy the Government has endeavoured to keep private enterprise under some control by granting concessions to competing lines throughout the length of the peninsula but it is understood that most of them have combined against the common enemy—the traveller, the merchant and the producer. The springs of authority are stronger in France; and the state has reserved to itself the option of purchasing many existing lines, which are at present under private management. French railways are proverbial for combining a maximum of charge with a minimum of speed and accommodation. In northern and central Europe, on the other hand, the state, from motives connected with strategy, has retained a firm grip on the railway network. The result has fully justified this policy. The zone system, by which railways having termini at a common centre are divided into sections over which coaching and goods charges are identical, must revolutionize the working of lines throughout the world. Its success has been demonstrated in Austro-Hungary, and it is only possible where railways are owned by the state. Though much diversity of practice still prevails public opinion is slowly veering round towards the theory that the enormous powers now necessarily vested in companies can only be successfully wielded by the governing power. The splendid success of our postal and telegraph system has opened men's eyes to the advantage of state control over methods of inland locomotion. We are beginning to doubt the wisdom of the old war-cries. Enlightened self-interest is often synonymous with selfishness; and *laissez faire* with a criminal abnegation of the first duty of a state—the protection of the weak against the knavery and strength of the strong. Mr. Elliott, therefore was in sympathy with modern thought when he pronounced strongly against the surrender of our Empire to the railway promoters. A patient trial had indeed been given to private management and it had been found wanting. All the conditions necessary for economical working were absent. Minute division of responsibility, and close supervision are the A. B. C. of railway management. Neither was possible with Boards of Directors sitting 6,000 miles away; always ready to give the good-will of their subordinates by sanctioning extravagant expenditure, than to seek the best interest of their shareholders. "Enlightened self-interest" in railway management takes the form of unfair competition, of such devices as the lowering

of junction rates in order to block rival lines, and of endeavours made to drive traffic into the longest "lead." The injustice thus involved cannot be remedied by state control. An attempt was made in that direction in 1887: when it was sought to impose on the principal companies a schedule of uniform maxima and minima goods' rates. It was frustrated by a declaration on the part of the E. I. R. authorities to the effect that they reserved to themselves the right of varying the classification as their interests might demand. Two years later a fierce contest began between that line and the new Indian Midland. The Cawnpore traffic was the aim of each; and the former company sought by every means in its power to force it through the longer 'lead,' viz. Jabalpur. The Government, after taking the opinion of eminent counsel, declined to interfere for the protection of exporters. During the term of office of Sir Charles Elliott (he had at last obtained the long deserved distinction of K.C.S.I.) a half-hearted step in the direction of control was forced on the Indian government by the home authorities. Under instruction from the Secretary of State an Act (I of 1890) was passed which provided for the appointment of a commission to settle disputes between rival companies. It is very doubtful, however, whether this imitation of English practice will be aught but a dead letter in India. The companies here can fall back on their contracts and evade compliance with any decision which a commission might arrive at as regards rates. One is driven to the conclusion that the State can exercise no efficient control over a vast commercial railway in private hands. Companies must be suffered to prey on each other or combine against the public till the evil grows too great for bearing. The question of the construction of railways is intimately connected with their management. Our policy in this respect was till Sir Charles Elliott's regime, marked by a singular absence of consistency, and, indeed of common sense. The older lines were built on loans in the English market raised by the glittering bait of a gold guarantee so heavy that shareholders were content to rest on their oars, certain that whether their lines were well or ill managed the capital invested would always bring a handsome return. Though this system has been justly exploded, the interests of the tax-payer have been, on more than one occasion of late years, sacrificed by the transfer of new lines to private management on most inequitable terms. When the Council were allowed a freer hand, as in the case of the purchase of the Buda and Rohilkhand and the construction of the Ambala, Kalka lines, a far better bargain has been secured. Sir Charles



Elliot's attitude as regards construction was logical enough. With the completion of the East Coast and the Assam-Chittagong lines, the trunk system of this Empire will be fairly complete; and branches, or feeders, will alone remain to be embarked on. It is preferable that such works should be undertaken by the government or by public bodies under governmental control on capital borrowed with the Secretary of State's guarantee. But the interest must be payable in silver and the guarantee must not exceed three per cent. If private promoters are willing to accept these terms there is abundant room for them; for government has its hands full and the new, fledged public bodies have at present neither the means nor the knowledge to fit them for great enterprises. The function of the constructors must, however, cease with the completion and equipment of the new lines. Experience has shown that trunks can work branches more economically than the latter can work for themselves. Therefore feeders should be leased out to lines with which they are connected at a fixed proportion of their government earnings. Fifty per cent. is a ratio which is fair to all concerned.

The battle of the gauges is a minor phase of the railway controversy. The broad gauge, so called—5' 6"—is that which finds most favour at home and it has been adopted on most of our trunk lines. Without pronouncing positively for the metre gauge or underrating the evils of a break, Sir Charles Elliott, to judge from his public utterances, looks with favour on a system which favours extreme cheapness of construction and protects the permanent way from the wear and tear of heavy engines and high speeds. The question of breaks is another burning one in the railway world. After directing a series of elaborate experiments Sir Charles Elliott has pronounced in favour of the vacuum break, influenced by its greater simplicity and the power it possesses of bringing a train to a complete stop without the intermittency in working needed in the case of its rival, the Westinghouse. These breaks have, therefore, been fitted to all the N. W. R. trains and to those on the E. B. S. and Oudh and Rohilkund which carry mails. Here, at least, government management is in advance of that of any private company in India.

But our subject is something more than a mere theorist. Besides formulating a policy to govern the relations of the state with railway enterprise he devoted close personal attention to the development of the net-work of lines. Projects embracing 1064 miles of permanent way, begun before his term of office were completed during its course. Twelve lines, aggregating 590

miles, were carried through from their inception. Nine, including 167½ miles, were begun but were unfinished when he vacated his seat in Council. Surveys in 18 more projects were ordered; and in 12 of them the plans and specifications were ready at the close of his functions as public works minister.

Though railways were evidently Sir Charles's hobby, the interests of their rivals, the canals, were not neglected. Two new systems came under construction. The first is the Peryar Canal in the Madras Presidency, a splendid work from an engineering point of view, but one which is not likely to bring a larger area than at present under cultivation. The second is that known as the Sirsa and Chenab Canal. The Panjab alone of Indian provinces possesses every factor necessary to the success of artificial waterways. It is a dry and thirsty land, in spite of its historic rivers. Good water runs to waste, while acres untold lie fallow for want of it. The sturdy peasantry have turned their spears to ploughshares and bring to bear on cultivation the dogged determination with which they once fought for the Khalsa. In Bengal proper, with the sole exception of South Behar, irrigation by means of canals has been a failure. Other provinces are either well provided already or enjoy climatic condition which render canals superfluous. That the grand scheme connected with the Jhelam, which has been surveyed and has received the sanction of the Secretary of State, should still hang fire in the absence of allotted funds is deeply to be regretted in the interests of Upper India.

The personal equation is of the first importance to the smooth working of so vast a department as that of Public Works. When Sir Charles Elliott took his seat in council the civil branch was seething with discontent. Loud complaints were heard on all sides of retarded promotion and undue preference shown to Royal Engineers. The first grievance is a very real one. No attempt had ever been made to ascertain the strength at which the staff of engineers must be maintained or to adjust recruitments. The wildest guesses at Indian requirements were made; and when Cooper's Hill College was set on foot the annual supply of young civil engineers was fixed at fifty. In 1874 no fewer than eighty were launched on an Indian career. Sir Charles Elliott's enquiries as to the real needs of all branches of the P. W. D. resulted in placing it beyond all doubt that the staff, exclusive of the military works branch, should be kept down to 730 officers, 500 of whom should be civil engineers. Actuarial computations showed that twenty-four men were required annually to fill

vacancies caused by deaths and retirements among the latter. Half of these will in future be supplied by Cooper's Hill and half by Indian colleges or recruited from deserving subordinates. Under this arrangement the utility of Cooper's Hill appears open to grave doubt. The Indian tax-payer has every right to protest against the maintenance of an expensive establishment at home which turns out a dozen young engineers annually. A vast impetus would be given to technical education in this country were twelve additional appointments in the upper grade of the P. W. Department allotted to candidates from our engineering colleges. The other ground for discontent among the civil engineers has less foundation in fact. There had doubtless been an undue weight given to tact and pleasant manners in selecting men for the secretariat and the Consulting Engineer's branches. On the other hand no dispassionate observer can doubt that these qualities are conspicuous in the products of Woolwich and Chatham. Outside these very small sections there is really no ground to suspect partiality in the authorities for Royal Engineers. The department is divided into several wholly distinct branches—those of Road, and Buildings; Irrigation and Railways. An officer who has cast his lot in with the first may find that his coevals in other lines have distanced him, and that owing to no fault of his own. But inequalities of promotion must always arise where a profession affords and careers so diverse. It is precisely the same with the regular army. In one regiment a captaincy is reached in eight years, in another a subaltern may pine for sixteen ere reaching the proximate goal of his ambition. The grievances of the civil engineers are, therefore either incurable or illusory: but where palliation was possible it was secured by Sir Charles Elliott's anxious care for the interests of the lesser subordinates.

In November 1890 Sir Charles Elliott received the offer from Lord Lansdowne of the Lieutenant Governorship of Bengal, which was about to be vacated by Sir Stuart Bayley. He hesitated long ere he accepted the thorny crown. Difficulties which would have dismayed a less vigorous mind lay before him. Bengal, as he told the guests at a farewell dinner given by the covenanted service to its retiring chief, is second only to Russia in the demand it makes on the administrative faculties of its ruler. He was new to the Province, and unknown to nine-tenths of his future colleagues. How far he has justified the expectations of his friends must be discussed at that date, which Bengal hopes is yet distant when he shall seek the well-earned repose of private life. We live too near the events which have followed on his accession to

power is larger than from the historian's standpoint. Suffice it to say that Sir Charles Eliot has infused new life into the administration, and that merit and not influence is now the passport to official success. We may assert with confidence that the closing years of his long and brilliant career will be as pregnant with good to the Empire as were any of those earlier phases which we have been privileged to record.

## A HINDU'S TRIP TO AUSTRALIA.

We left our hotel, my brother and myself, in a cab, at about 8-30 A.M., in the midst of a pelting shower that had commenced with early dawn and showed no signs of abating. The streets (Bombay) looked like small rivulets, and none but people who ran against time like ourselves were to be seen in them. The shop windows stood carefully barred with here and there a light dimly visible through the glass panes giving a vivid view of the inside. The grim half-wet porters at the doors reduced their volume to the lowest possible compass and sat within the folds of their weather-worn great coats and looked hopelessly at the sky between the intervals of their dog-sleep. The ware-houses near the dock had not a man about them and stood with bolted doors and barred windows as a visible protest against the ceaseless rain.

Half an-hour's drive through this splashing rain brought us to the ship's side and we got straight-way on deck. My trunks were taken downstairs by the ship's servants and having taken leave of my brother I began a silent survey of my surroundings. The boat was a small one of about 3,000 tons burden and in spite of the new riggings and fresh canvas with which she had been decorated showed decided signs of her antiquity by her uncanny engines and imperfect cabin accommodation. Our captain was as old as his ship, small and somewhat flabby for a sailor, with a set of features which indicated no human virtue or vice in excess. He was irritable through the combined effect of chronic dyspepsia and recent sea-sickness, and spoke in short sentences with questionable grammar and undeniable bad sense.

On going to my cabin I was met by a Goanese servant who was putting my things in order and no sooner he saw me than he stopped work with a hearty how, saying, "Good morning, Sir. This your room, very comfortable, no lights now, more lights soon when boat in sea and porthole open at 6 o'clock, Sir. I servant, Sir. Cabin boy, Sir." "Boy" was over 50 if a day; but I gravely assured him that I was very glad that he was my "boy" and I hoped we would be good friends on the way. He said "my name Soobah, Sir all gentlemen very please with me and give me

bucket when they got up. The bucket, however, put a stop to this edifying conversation, and Solomon ran to serve at table. I tried to read, but the room was too dark, the day too dreary and my thoughts too much pre-occupied to admit of my reading and I gradually fell fast asleep. When I got up, I could but dimly see the distant towers of Bombay looming through the misty sky at a distance of about 5 or 6 miles from us. It was a dismal prospect,—away from home and friends, sick both in body and mind, alone in my cabin. I was thinking if I should again visit the shores of my native land. I was in this mood for not more than half an hour when all on a sudden I felt as if something was creeping about the lower part of my abdomen. I was at sea before but I was never sea-sick, and I thought it was only a fancy generated by my reading of sea-sickness immediately before the commencement of the voyage. I looked through the port-hole and saw the brave old ship gallantly riding against a heavy gale from the south. But each time that it mounted above the wave and sank down almost immediately below it, I began to feel worse and worse, till there remained no doubt in my mind that I was sick, and old Solomon came in with his ominous bucket. In his kind but queer way he said "Champagne, Sir, Steward got Sir, one glass Sir, and you all right Sir," and he offered me his ticket and pencil. He made a wry face, however, when I ordered iced lemonade instead, but carried out the order promptly enough. From the sounds that came from the neighbouring cabins I could perceive that I had companions in my new misfortune and to that extent it was a comfort. I asked Solomon to shut my door and to leave me to myself. He promptly said "them engines very noisy tellers" and left me alone. I remained sick till about 10 P.M., and then fell asleep, but when I rose the next morning I felt perfectly well. Since that day I never had sea-sickness again.

From Bombay to Colombo the distance is about 900 miles, and you do it in a little more than 3 days and nights. Our course was a southerly one and we sailed alongside of the Western Ghats at a distance of from 10 to 20 miles of the main land. All along the coast you see small country crafts manned by native fishermen boldly going out to sea and biring their nets with great success.

The natural harbour below Rangoon with the tiny fishing boats with white sails entering or leaving it, the distant and dimly visible houses on the hill top, the luxuriant vegetation covering the entire sea face of the hills, all combine to make it a most picturesque and delightful landscape. From Rangoon, we lost sight

land and reached Colombo at about 3 P.M. on the 3rd day. Such of you as have seen Colombo during the monsoons cannot have failed to notice the wonderful strength of the sea-wall below the town. It is made of huge slabs of stone, is about 800 feet wide and extends to nearly a mile into the sea. The waves lashed in by a strong N. E. wind strike incessantly against it and not being able to break it rise to a height of about 30 to 40 feet above it and then fall heavily on the other side and melt into the smooth lake-like harbour below the town. It is a wonderful achievement of engineering art and is by itself well worth a visit. As the English boat had not yet reached the harbour, word was sent to us that we could go on shore and amuse ourselves till evening. But I was too ill to profit by this indulgence. All I could do was to sit on deck and look at the town which was less than 500 yards from where we had anchored and watch the boats full of trades-people and idlers who soon came alongside of and boarded us without ceremony. It was such a motley crowd! The boys in rafts jumped into the sea to pick up the 2 and 4 anna bits that were thrown from the ship into the sea and never failed to bring them up to the admiration of every body in the ship. The Buddhist priests in yellow dhoti and chadder, their hair, beard and moustache clean shaven; the more respectable tradesman with his leathern box of jewellery; and the non-descript crowd behind, some shaven, others with flowing beards and hair; here a sugar-loaf hat pitch-forked on a knotted pig tail, there another in an English suit of clothes with an orthodox pugri half-covering the sandal wood mark of a Vaishnava, soon made the scene more lively than a purposely got up show. Almost every man differed from his neighbour in everything except in that cementer of all discordances—the motive of gain. The boys made you throw your 4 anna bits into the sea; begging priests asked you for alms for the eternal welfare of your soul forgetting Nirvana in the excitement of the hour; the half-naked boatmen coaxed you to come on shore to see the beauties of the town; whilst the men with the jewellery cases asked you with a thousand oaths to profit by the ruinous sales they were being forced to make. One of this last fraternity seeing a likely bird to fleece in the person of the only Indian on board came up to me with a grave but confiding air and confidentially invited me to the smoking room, which was now empty and to have a look at his valuables. "The people about Colombo were notorious robbers" he said "and the ships' people no better." I saw that my honest man did not want to be interrupted in the act of fleecing his victim, and I did all I could, by look and action,

to assure him that he had secured a fat one. When we reached the smoking room he looked round himself as if to be sure that the robbers did not follow him, and beckoning me to take a seat in the corner went on elaborately to unroll the wrappings of his box. This took a little time and he improved it by asking me all sorts of questions about Hamilton & Co., Cook and Kelvey, Orr and Sons, and a number of other Indian jewellers, as if he was on the best of terms with them, and he made no doubt that I was one of their esteemed patrons. He then drew out from a Morocco case a bracelet and some rings. He gave me the history of each article as he showed it to me. The bracelet belonged to the wife of one of the richest planters, but they were in adverse circumstances and were selling off privately at a great sacrifice; each ring had its separate history; one I remember came from Brazil and the biggest official magnate had all but secured it when my friend by a clever manœuvre secured it for himself. I looked at him all the time in silent admiration, and if he stopped to recover his breath I set him agoing by asking him for further particulars of his stories. My friend, after having exhausted his breath and his stock of English together, blandly asked me which of the things he would select for the Bura-Sahib, i.e., myself. I said I would have them all, they were so good, only I had not the money for them. The beggar now found out that I had seen through his trick and marched off without further ado. On coming out of the room I found another passenger beset by one of these harpies who demanded Rs. 200 for what a good judge afterward declared to be a piece of glass.

Columbo is a small town extending from North to South; the residence of Araby Pasha and one or two Government buildings excepted, the rest of the houses are roofed with tiles. The forest of cocoanut trees that you see all around gives the place its only claim to picturesqueness that one reads so much of in books of travels.

The next morning on going on deck we saw the *Coromandel*, a much larger boat with a lot of passengers standing at anchor on our right hand. Such of us as were bound for Australia were told to be ready by 11 A.M. to get into the P. and O.'s steam launch, which would come to take us to the *Coromandel*. At the appointed hour old Solomon brought my luggage into the steam-launch and left me with alternate volleys of "God bring you back all right, Sir," and curious oaths and curses at the Singalese porters who obstructed the passage to the launch.

The *Coromandel* was a larger boat of more recent construction and had for passengers a goodly number of English gentlemen and



ladies besides a French family who were bound for Melbourne. The officers were, without a single exception, gentlemanly and well educated. I made the acquaintance of a few Australian gentlemen on their way back from England at dinner and retired to rest.

We left Colombo at about 5 P. M. on the 5th August. On our way, the only land that we saw were the two small islands called the Cocos, probably from the fact that they were literally studded with cocoanut trees. On inquiry I learnt that their area was too small to admit of their being colonized. An army of sea-gulls had taken advantage of the situation and had built their nests in every chink and crevice, and as we passed within a mile of the island greeted us with their plaintive cries and flew round and round the ship. We crossed the Equator on the morning of the 14th. The chief officer asked me at breakfast if I knew that king Neptune was coming on board and if I was not going to do homage to him. At first I took it for a joke, but later on I found that every one on board was talking about it. Every one was being asked if he had ever crossed the Equator before, and all those who had not were being told to be ready to pay homage to king Neptune at 12 P. M. when his Majesty would be on board. I was, of course, one of them, and though sick offered to do what was wanted if the rest of the passengers would do the same. An unfortunate fracas spoilt the sport so far as the saloon passengers were concerned, but at the appointed hour we saw a number of young men amongst the 2nd class passengers doing full justice to the sport by first smearing their faces with coal dust and kerosine oil and then pitching one another into huge canvas tanks filled with brine. To while away the time we had sea-quits, cricket with rope balls, singing debates, and a newspaper in front of the second saloon in which the passengers criticised each other with more energy than politeness. I occupied myself mostly with reading and having a quiet chat with some of the passengers.

Between Colombo and Albany we saw shoals of flying fish, myriads of phosphorescent insects packed thickly on the surface of the sea and giving it the appearance of a burning prairie. Off the Cocos we saw a water sprout—a column of water and water vapour rising by some mysterious power hitherto undiscovered by science to an immense height and moving almost at right angles to the ship's course. Besides the above natural wonders, the rapid change of climate that you feel is very pleasant at the beginning. It was positively hot when we left Bombay; it gradually cooled to somewhere about 80° by the time we reached Colombo. The ther-

mercury remained pretty much at the same point till we reached the equator. One is inclined to think from the general knowledge of physics that it would be very hot at the Equator. But I found it neither hot nor cold. It rained almost the whole day and gave you the idea of a rainy day at Raipur. It grew colder and colder as we neared the continent and by the time we were two days off Albany we had to lay by our lighter clothes and to take to our gloves and comforters.

We entered George's Sound at about 9 A.M. on the morning of the 17th August. The first thing you see in entering the Sound is a quantity of rocks scattered here and there, rising abruptly from the midst of the sea, which the waves have for ages been unsuccessfully trying to submerge or wash away. Some of these are bare and bald whilst others, specially as you approach the main land, are covered with rank grass and a small sturdy brush-wood peculiar to the country. A few more miles of this perpetual battle-field between land and water and you begin to find a series of rocks rising on both sides of you, giving you an idea of sailing up a river. On the sea-face of these rocks have been built snug little houses inhabited mostly by fishermen, and as you approach them you find a cluster of healthy children running out from them to see the ship. We entered the small lakelike bay below Albany at about 10-30 A.M. and had not cast anchor many minutes when we were boarded by the P and O steam launch bringing a whole host of custom-house officials who came on board to see if any goods or passengers were to land at Albany, but as we had none of either they bought a lot of plantain for themselves and went away. Then began a regular traffic with the shore,—men, women and children coming in shoals in steam launches which came regularly every half an hour, they entered the ship without ceremony, peeped into the cabins, eyed the breakfast tables, stared at me in pretty much the same style as one would do at a new animal in the Zoo, and when they had satisfied their curiosity by an examination of the whole ship they made their purchases of plantains (they called them *bananahs*) and went home in the launches that had brought in fresh batches of sight-seers and *bananah* purchasers like themselves. By this time I had lost the novelty of being stared at, so I joined a party of the passengers who were going to have a stroll through the town. A shilling to the launch-man brought you on the pier in less than 10 minutes and a five minutes' walk from there and you are in the heart of the town. It stands on the seaward declivity of the right hand chain of hills which surround the bay on three sides.

and its present extent cannot be more than a square mile. The streets have first been laid out mostly at right angles with each other and the intervening land has been parcelled out into so many plots each to be given to a new family as it comes in. The present population cannot be more than 5,000 or 6,000. The Australian bank and the R. C. Chapel are perhaps the best buildings; the rest of the private houses consisting mostly of wooden cottages, small but tidy looking, full of children and lumber. The back yards, as a rule, contained a small vegetable garden with cabbages and cauliflowers growing luxuriantly, whilst in the courtyard grazed blood mares and cows, and well-grown poultry, the whole lot under the care of a huge mastiff which lay lazily on the beautiful grass that grew everywhere. The men, as a rule, were well-built robust fellows with bushy beards and eyebrows and wanted but a dark night and a lantern to play Guido Faukes to perfection. It being a Sunday, no business was going on at the shops, but the sign boards in front of some of them were characteristic enough. One ran, "Kangaroo and Opposum skins bought here at the highest price;" another promised to sell spirits in retail at wholesale rates, a third offered to do something equally unlikely for cash on the nail. Having "done" the town, some of us strolled out amongst the fields which lay outside it. Here you see the luxuriance of Australian vegetation. The soil looked like a light alluvium, with here and there a trace of disintegrated lime-stone clay. The grass with beautiful long juicy leaves grew on every bit of uncultivated soil, while small thorny bushes rose here and there with tiny yellow flowers that were altogether new to us. Almost every thing in the shape of vegetable was in flower, and none of the trees and shrubs belonged to the Old World. But we were timed to leave by a noon and we had to hurry back to our wooden prison on pain of being left to shift for ourselves, and none of us was enthusiastic enough to brave such a fate. So we left the port amidst the waving of hats from the custom-house officers and started for Adelaide. The European passengers said that the weather was deliciously cool and showed their appreciation—some of them at least—by putting less soda in their pegs—by the way the word peg was unknown amongst them. But I who had passed the best portion of my life with the thermometer over 90 and was suffering from weak lungs, thought it was a little too cool; in fact, it was cold for me. But that was a matter of taste.

After 4 days and nights of wind and rain and intense cold, we anchored below port Largs on the morning of the 21st. Every body who was not sea sick jumped into the steam launch that

came alongside of us, and we got into the train that was kept ready there to take the mails to Adelaide. Half-an-hour's drive brought us to the town and we went out to "do" it in right style. After finishing the few purchases that I had to make, I got into a tram car and saw the whole town for the very moderate sum of 18d. or so. It is situated on the seaward side of a low range of hills and is divided into the North and the South town by a small rivulet which was almost dry at the time I saw it. The streets were broad and well kept, and the foot paths alongside of them were made of whitish gravel cemented with lime which gave them a very neat appearance. The roadsides were carefully planted with Eucalyptus and pine, but gravelly soil made the trees rather stunted and knotty. The botanical garden of Adelaide, said to be one of the best in the world, is situated in the North town, but all the principal shops and offices are in the South town. But it is time that we leave Adelaide and start for Melbourne.

We weighed anchor at about 2 P.M. on the 21st and reached William's Town on the morning of the 23rd August and found a train ready on the pier to take us to Melbourne. Under the guidance of the agent of one of the carrier Companies of Melbourne I got down at the Collins' Street station and entered a tram car to see the place. There are neither horses nor steam-engines attached to these cars and they are worked under the Cable system. The Cable consists of a strong wire-rope passing under ground through the middle of the road and the car is so contrived as that the pressing of an iron rod attaches it to the cable and makes it move with the metal rope while a counter movement of the handle disengages it and brings it to a stand still. At first sight you are at a loss to discover the motive power which moves the car and you feel the agreeable sensation of covering distance without effort as you occupy one of the seats on the uncovered portion of the car. From your position you see the tall and beautifully worked buildings, consisting of shops, public offices, and ware-houses, on both sides of you. They are built of large slabs of grey and blue stone worked to a smoothness that is not to be seen in any of our principal cities. The Museum, the Public Library, the new Parliament house, the University buildings, and some of the principal shops and edifices, are well worth a visit. The Aquarium and the Gardens in the midst of which it was situated beat every thing of the kind that I had seen elsewhere. From the top of the tower, here you get a distinct view of the whole city and on a clear day you can see as far as the sea.

The first thing that strikes you is the great neatness and activity around you. The streets are clean beyond praise, the shops do not contain a speck of dust, and the goods exposed for sale in them look as if they came just then from the hands of the manufacturer. Almost every man that I met in the streets was decently dressed and was silently walking at a brisk pace evidently to keep some appointment or other. The agent of a carrier Company came on board, and you could take your oath that he looked at least as respectably dressed as a Secretary to the Viceroy. This was the Australian strike time, 40,000 men, *i.e.*, one-fifteenth of the entire population belonging to the various unions had simultaneously struck work. You could see hundreds of them walking about the quays, the railway stations and the public places of inexpensive amusement—great big bluff fellows with big horny hands in their pockets and pipes in their mouths—one of them asked you "You are from Hindui, Sir, I suppose?"—It spoke very highly of the honesty of the Australian people during the long period that these people voluntarily remained out of employment. There were almost no cases of crime or drunkenness brought home to them. I attended their meetings both in Melbourne and at Sydney on a good many occasions, and I can vouch for the fact that not a man of them ever said or did anything on those occasions that would lead one to hold them up as socialists or anarchists. The organs of the employers painted them in dark colours, of course, and the organs of the workmen were not silent either. I tried to study the question in all its bearings by attending their meetings, reading the papers, and personally talking over the question with members of both the classes. But it would be wearisome to lead you through the intricacies of that troublesome question, and a discussion of it will far exceed the limits of an evening discourse. Suffice it to say that it seemed to me that justice lay, as is almost always the case in class disputes, somewhere midway between the demands of both. The dispute was still raging when I left for home, but I have since heard that it was settled by the employers making a few concessions to the demands of the men. But we must hasten back to the good ship before she starts for Sydney.

We started for Sydney on the 26th and reached it on the 28th August. The city is built on a mass of undulating rocks and is almost wholly surrounded by the sea. Excepting Rio Janeiro no city in the world possesses such an extent of sea-face and such an excellent harbour as Sydney. The circumference of the city is at least a good 30 miles yet there is scarcely any one point in

it from which the sea is more than 2 or 3 miles away. But it will exceed our limits to describe Sydney and its environs; for these I must refer you to the Australian Hand Book in which you will find them described much more correctly than I can hope to do from memory. I was advised by a gentleman belonging to Sydney, who was returning from Melbourne with us, to go to the Hotel Metropole. It was about 300 or 400 paces from the sea, was within 5 minutes' walk of the Public Library and about 10 minutes' from the Botanical Gardens, the Government Palace, the Arts' Gallery, the Mechanical Institute, and you had the tram car at the corner to take you to the Law Courts or to any other part of the city or out of it as you chose to go to. During my first week I used to get into the tram car to see the different parts of the town till midday and then get into one of the many ferry steamers that leave hourly for Paramatta, Mosmans bay, and other beautiful places which surround Sydney on all sides and return home at dusk to read at the Public Library till about 10 P.M. By the end of the first week I had made the acquaintance of a few gentlemen of my profession as well as a Professor of one of the local Colleges—all of them excellent men in their own way. With their assistance I began to study the different social questions, the result of which you will find later on. On a Sunday we went to Rottnest Bay, the place where Captain Cook had first set foot on Australian soil. They have erected his statue there to commemorate the event. On week days I sometimes attended the Superior Courts, my legal friends explaining to me the procedure and the facts of the cases that were being heard. All the states labour under the misfortune of the dual system of Westminster introduced amongst them by the early batch of lawyers who came to settle in the country. Every suit is tried with the assistance of a jury, and a new trial is the result of a difference amongst the jurors. Yet this cumbersome system exists among them without causing any demand for a change. The English are a conservative people, and abuses, provided they are old ones, are cherished as being part of the institutions of the country. But I must not talk shop.

In the beginning you could buy as much land in fee-simple as you liked at the rate of a shilling per acre. A number of English companies had invested a few hundred thousands of pounds in those days by way of a speculative investment. This land now yields more than a pound per acre as rent. But no sooner the colonists secured a Government of their own than they put a stop to this ruinous practice and now you cannot buy an

inch of the State's lands for any amount of money. Leases for twenty years at a fixed rate per acre are given to farmers and they are renewable at the end of the term. Under this system a race of small proprietors with well cultivated farms is fast taking the place of wild sheep ranges and pasture grounds. They grow wheat, oats, barley, potatoes and all sorts of European vegetables and fruits. Oranges are as cheap and as plentiful as at Bombay. Plantain and mango are brought in ships from Brisbane and can be had in abundance. Their chief want is water—the rainfall not exceeding 20 inches on an average. They have very few rivers and even these dry up during summer. You have to go to a depth of somewhere about 300 to 400 ft. before you get a sufficient supply of water.

We all know that since the discovery of the Continent by Captain Cook towards the close of the last century, it was used as a penal settlement to which all the unquiet spirits of England, Scotland, and Ireland were sent out. To these were gradually added broken down spendthrifts, insolvent debtors, and men flying from the discipline of social and legal tribunals. To-day we find it the home of industry, the paradise of the working man, with the least amount of criminal and pauper population of any country of equal extent in the world; where no man or woman with a healthy body and willingness to work need starve, a country where you do not meet with the extremes of riches and poverty side by side to make you pause and think whether the institution of private property is not an evil, where inequality of rank does not make one half of the people the abject slaves of the other.

It seemed to me that the clue to this marvellous progress lay in the initial universal poverty of the early settlers, the practically unlimited extent of fertile country in which they settled, the right to frame their own laws and raise their own revenues, the absence of interference by the mother country, and its peculiarly isolated position.

The universal poverty made it impossible for any member of the community to fatten on the earnings of others. There was very little to steal, less to be had in charity. The utmost a man could steal was an old suite of clothes or a meal and the punishment was death. On the other hand, by working for a short few hours either as a cultivator, a sheep-owner or a minor handicraftsman, he could earn enough for himself and family and lay by something for the rainy day. There was no rapacious landlord or hard-hearted tax-gatherer or a spendthrift Government to take away the

fruits of his labour in the name of innumerable taxes. he employed the fruits of his labour without let or hindrance from any body. We know that our actions result from the strongest motives, under the influence of new conditions of existence. The hardened criminal, who had defied the discipline of the prisons, the exhortations of thousands of enthusiastic and devoted missionaries, and the kindly good offices of philanthropic societies, on whom the people's palace, the charity school and half-penny dinners for his children had no effect, was suddenly transformed into an honest working man. He was allowed to frame his own laws, and lurking traces of the old selfishness showed itself in his shutting the country against all foreign labour or manufacture. He disbelieved the story of the universal brotherhood of mankind, and refused to allow foreign labour to glut the market and reduce wages to the starvation point, making the rich richer and the poor poorer. He preferred to pay his shepherd and his plough-boy 10s a day, his dairy maid £60 with board and lodging, and sent his wool to Europe rather than establish manufactories at home and work them with imported labour at 10s. the week. He charged every manufactured article of foreign growth with almost prohibitive duty and gave employment to his poorer brethren at home by allowing them to produce the articles themselves. So far the protectionist policy has worked well. The native Australian labourer has his 10 to 15s a day, he lives in a house purchased on the long term system, eats meat every day, has got his small bit of a garden, and his wife and children look the very picture of health and cleanliness. Political economists of the school of Cobden and Mill may say that this artificial growth of the individual is a mistake inasmuch as it is secured by the diminution of the national wealth, and the profit of the European manufacturer is the measure of that loss. But the Colonists point out that as the happiness of the community is the end, and its wealth is but the means to that end, the mistake lies with those who would sacrifice the end for the means. London is the richest city in the world. Who will say it is the happiest? But we must not digress.

The isolated position of the country is another of its great advantages. They have no civilized power in their neighbourhood, no scientific frontier to defend or fortify, no vested interests extending over foreign territories to enforce with iron clads and large armies. The entire forces of the whole continent do not exceed 8,000 soldiers and 5 or 6 ships of war. The natural defence, therefore, costs them much less than it does to the Swiss Cantons.



or to Greece. The cost of civil administration is also comparatively small, volunteer agency being always preferred to stipendiary ones.

The Colonial administration of England, ever since the American war of independence, has been characterized by very great moderation. The Colonists enjoy all the protection and prestige incidental to the power of the mother country, but they do not contribute anything towards its support. They are perfectly independent in their internal administration; they make their own laws, impose their own taxes and spend their own money without let or hindrance from the Foreign Secretary in London. There is no clamour for shortening the working hours of their mechanics raised by the crocodile philanthropists of Manchester or Liverpool. They are not forced to hamper the manufacture of their own salt or to raise the tax on it in order that the home-made finer fabrics may go untaxed. They do not pay any portion of the cost of foreign wars entered into for the protection or extension of British trade, nor are they compelled to purchase their stationery at twice the cost for which it can be procured at home.

Thus we find that they have all the advantages of a fertile soil, a thin population, a very good climate, freedom from the jealousy of powerful neighbours, inexhaustible mineral wealth and an inexpensive Government. They jealously guard the coasts of this modern Eldorado against the encroachments of hungry rovers from beyond the sea.

EDUCATION. --The principal states have their own Universities. The Universities are both educating and examining bodies. Accommodation is provided to students for living on the premises as at Oxford and Cambridge, but residence at College is not absolutely necessary. The cultivation of Latin and Greek is still considered as a necessary part of a gentleman's education, but a thorough scientific education can be secured by those who wish for it. Sons of merchants, landowners, priests, and men with funded property resort to them, and after finishing their education become barristers, professors, merchants or priests and a few enter Government service. Almost every man that you come across is decently educated, but scholars are very rare amongst them. Literature as a profession, which affords employment to so many thousands of the best men of Europe, is pursued by only thirty-two people editing or writing for the local newspapers or journals. I could not find out a single book written by an Australian that one could confidently hope will find a place among the English classics. I believe that the way to riches here is

so easy and the rage for becoming rich is so great that few people care to devote themselves to studies which require life-long labour and great natural gifts to bring a man to the front. Few men read books for the sake of learning, but nowhere have I seen such a rage for reading newspapers and novels published in the journals. Every class in society has its own organ, and every man buys a copy of the paper which represents his opinions. You enter a Railway carriage and find almost every one in it busy with his or her newspaper. The first question that you are asked is "Have you read such and such an article in—which smashes the Independent" into bits?" If you say no, you are at once offered the paper and made to go through a column of local news that is not of the slightest use to you. But very little that is not Australian has much interest for them. An elderly gentleman, who was perhaps more candid than polite, told me that he was glad to find that people in India could talk English and were otherwise so civilized.

The education of the masses is very well attended to. Education is compulsory for all children of a certain age and a warm controversy was going on in the Parliament of Victoria when I was there as to whether such education should be paid for or gratuitous. The latter opinion prevailed and primary education is now free. I saw a regiment of school-going children marching in the most orderly fashion with small rifles on their shoulders, and I was agreeably surprised to hear that almost every Australian has served in the ranks during his school going days.

**POLITICS.**—Young Australia is conservative almost to a man. 'Australia for Australians' is the key note of their politics. The labouring and the farming classes having the largest number of representatives in the local Parliaments, everything is disposed of from the working man's point of view. The Chinaman lowered wages by coming to Australia. He is forbidden to land in any of the States unless he pays a prohibitive fee of £100. There were about 50 Indians in Melbourne who lived by needle-work. I was told that there was an idea of bringing them within the rule against the influx of Chinamen. They have already successfully refused to take in any more convicts from home and I am inclined to think that the time is not very distant when they will prevent the landing of work people from Europe. Under the influence of this local patriotism the states treat each other as foreign territories. You cannot execute a decree or warrant of one state in another without instituting a fresh suit in the one case and taking proceedings under the Extradition Act in the other. This procedure necessarily

ly involves considerable hardship to the mercantile classes and of late a movement has been set on foot to instruct public opinion towards the formation of a federation amongst the states. This movement is headed by men who, perhaps, see a little beyond their neighbours and dream of a future national existence. So far as I could see they had scarcely any reasonable ground of complaint against the Government at home, but during my stay in the country I heard it more than once publicly said by fairly representative men that England must either form a federation with her Colonies or allow them to sever their connection with her.

**CHARACTER.**—The first thing that strikes an Asiatic most forcibly in the character of the Australians is their down-right honesty in thought and action and their sturdy self-reliance. During the time I was in the country I never saw a single instance of able-bodied mendicancy amongst them and never heard a man promise to do a thing that he was not ready to perform. You enter a shop, make your purchases and leave your address with the shopman. You return home and find the things left on your table. You enter a tram car and drop your 3d in the box inside the car, the driver sitting outside all the while and yet I never saw the poorest man, woman, or child that did not put his money there. They are polite in the truest sense of the word, you meet one of them on the deck in the morning and he wishes you a good morning without showing the least surprise at your colour. He leaves it to you to make his acquaintance or not just as you please. You go to a new town or city and want to know your way to a certain place. The busiest man in the street will stop and give you the required information. At the Public Libraries, Museums, Arts Galleries, wherever you go the little marks of attention and unostentatious kindness that are shown you cannot fail to impress you with a strong idea of their goodness. Their hospitality is unbounded. No sooner you come to know one of them you are asked when it will be convenient for you to dine with him. People leave their business to show you the public places of their town or city, arrange excursions into the country for your benefit, introduce you amongst their friends who in their turn prove as good as themselves. In all this there is no cool assumption of superiority, no polite extension of patronage, no giving you the cold shoulder at the approach of one of their countrymen to make you wish that you had not known them. That iron barrier which differentiates the ~~upper~~ class and makes all intercourse between them a forced thing, not to be thought of by those who do not want to ~~be~~ ~~confronted~~, and which I believe is at the root of much of the

hatred that now exists against the higher classes at home, is happily absent in Australia. Master and servant travel in the same car and enjoy a quiet chat without making either party forget his station. On the whole it seemed to me that they had retained all the sterling qualities of the Anglo-Saxon character and, had added to it a few traits which increase the happiness of others without diminishing their own

T D BANERJEA.

## THE INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF INDIA.

### II

INDIAN ARTS AND MANUFACTURES.—It is well-known that the introduction of steam as an agency in production has effected a revolution in the industries of the civilized world. The rival kingdoms into which India was for centuries divided, had given birth to many arts of luxury. It is a trite saying that all the Fine Arts take their birth amidst the confusion and din of war. When men's passions are excited to the highest pitch, when something out of the ordinary course is necessary for the gratification of the highest sentiments and emotions of the human bosom, it is then that sculpture, embroidery, jewellery and everything tending to luxurious display, reach their highest perfection and receive their greatest encouragement. India was noted in former times for the pomp and pageantry of the articles she produced. The first merchants who came from Europe to trade in the East spoke in the most glowing colors of the splendours of the Indian bazars. In the sixteenth century, when the produce of the Indian markets adorned the palaces and cathedrals of Rome, Madrid, Cordova, Granada, and Brussels, the Spanish noblemen, the Dutch merchants, and the Italian cardinals pronounced Indian cotton and silk fabrics, and Indian embroidery and jewellery as really unsurpassed. Even during the days following the decline and fall of the Mogul Empire the industries of the country were to a great extent unaffected. Strife and the changing fashions and circumstances of the country have, however, given a death-blow to many important branches of industry from which India can recover only by putting forth her best energies. During the last few years something has been done to turn the tide in that direction. The thriving town of Bombay is fast approaching the time when she will cloth a vast portion of the Indian population with the produce of her own mills. The machinery that is fitted up in Calcutta for manufacturing and pressing into a portable form the Jute that grows on the submerged soil of the delta of the Ganges and the Brahma-

putra, has already been pronounced to be sufficient for supplying sacks for the commerce of the world. It has been correctly remarked by Sir W. W. Hunter that Manchester is growing up in miniature in Bombay and Dundee in Calcutta. There is no doubt, however, that much yet remains to be done in this direction and while the whole country is busy in thinking out and suggesting means and schemes for the same, we might take the opportunity of placing before our readers some information on the subject.

We need hardly say that many parts of India are still in a primitive state of civilization and show hardly any industries but those that are in a rude state. The simple crafts of primitive villages and hamlets need no description. The very needs of existence in a settled state require that the arts of weaving, oil-pressing, brass-making, and the making of simple articles of burnt earth and iron should form a part of village life. The hill tribes all over India have not proceeded much ahead of this stage though some of them have made a good deal of progress in turning out one or two articles that are to their taste. The rural hamlets of tribes still in the infancy of civilization, which have the same incidents in all parts of the world, have been described in detail by many writers but they contain nothing that should be included in a paper especially devoted to the enumeration and description of the arts and industries of India.

By far the most important industry of India, the ancient modern, is the cotton industry. Mention of its being conducted on a large scale is made in such old books as the *Mahabharata* and the *Periplus*. The first travellers from Europe and the first traders from the West place it in the forefront of Indian industries. In the early days of the East India Company, small villages of weavers grew up in consequence of the weaving population being attracted to the outskirts of their fortified factories by inducements of gain. When, however, the East India Company was obliged to give up its private trade by the terms of the royal charters of 1813 and 1833, these centres of population artificially created rapidly declined. Weaving is still a village industry in many parts of India, and although the twist necessary for weaving is imported in very large quantities from Europe, it has been asserted by the highest authorities, upon the comparative statistics available, that three-fifths of the cloth necessary for Indian consumption is, up to this date, woven in the country. The Indian cotton industry, when it received its greatest encouragement and was not hampered by competition with Manchester, was justly considered as having been in its fully developed state.

Indian muslins, especially those produced at Dacca and at Arni in the Madras Presidency, were superior in fineness of quality, in the grace and delicacy of their texture, and in the originality of conception, to any produced elsewhere in the world. In the climate of the burning plains of India they afforded the most agreeable of clothing materials. They supplied the stuff of which the flowing and the picturesque costumes of oriental noblemen were made. They lent themselves to the most elaborate embroidery and were indicated by highly imaginative and poetic names. They were used extensively in the harems of the Khaliphas of Bagdad, the Shas of Persia, the Amirs and Khans of Afghanistan, Bokhara and Turkestan. The two finest varieties of these muslins known as the *Abraham*, and the *Shabnam* or the "running water" and the "evening dew," could hardly be distinguished from running water when wet. To quote the words of Mr. T. N. Mukerji on the subject, "three hundred years ago a piece of these muslins fifteen feet by three feet could be made so fine as to weigh only 900 grains, but now a cloth of the same dimensions cannot be made without doubling the weight." Manchester has now superseded the Indian weavers in many of the Indian markets, but it must be confessed that her products turned out by machinery, however cheap, are the most prosaic things imaginable and hardly adapted to the needs of the imaginative and the sentimental East. The chief centres of the cotton industry in the Madras Presidency were Arni, Masulipatam, Vizigapatam and Nellore. In the Bombay Presidency, the towns of Ahmedabad, Surat and Broach had long been noted for their printed cloth. But the competition of Manchester introduced to the Indian weavers the yarn spun in England. The first mill for the manufacture of cotton yarn and cloth by machinery was opened in Bombay in 1854, and since then Bombay has become a dreaded rival of Manchester. The advantages of the Indian mills are, however, balanced by several corresponding disadvantages. The Indian mills find the raw materials and the market for their produce within easy distances of the place where they are located. They are not charged with the double freight and insurance that the Manchester mills have to pay. The natives of India in many parts of the country feel that they should encourage to the utmost of their power the produce of the Indian mills and use them to the entire exclusion of the imported articles. The Indian mill-owners are able to employ labour at much more advantageous terms than their English competitors for labour in India is not only cheap but not being regulated by strikes and trade-unions.

is extremely docile, and at the mercy of the employer. The Indian manufacturers again carry the confidence of their countrymen by reason of the fact that their produce is remarkably free from all sorts of adulterations and they do not practise all those ingenious tricks which are so unscrupulously resorted to by the English merchants and manufacturers. The disadvantages, however, under which the Indian mill-owners labour are many. The first and foremost is that the cost of erection of their machinery is at least three times greater than in England. The machinery has to be brought out to India at great expense and can only be fitted up by skilled men whose services command a high price. The Indian mill-owner, whether he employs his own money or borrows money from the market, reckons a very high rate of interest. This he adds to the cost of the outturn in fixing the price for which it would sell in the market. In the English market, money is available often at 5 per cent but the Indian capitalist can hardly be brought to listen to any terms less than 9 per cent. Indian Cotton again according to all accounts cannot hold its own against American Cotton. Indian Cotton has very short staples and is unequal to the needs of spinning the finer qualities of yarn. The Indian mills can thus turn out only the coarser qualities of cloth. They cannot compete with the finer qualities of fabrics manufactured in England and chiefly consumed by the higher classes of this country. In the technical language of the Cotton Guild, the Indian mills generally manufacture twist up to No 30, they can attempt up to No 40, but this they seldom do owing principally to the want of skill in their work-people and the quality and capacity of their cotton. The coarser piece-goods, known as drills, jeans, and sheetings, are entirely supplied by the Bombay mills. The superior qualities of yarn necessary for the hand-loom weavers and the superior fabrics consumed in the large towns are still practically the monopoly of Manchester. The Indian Government imposed, up to the year 1882, a duty of 5 per cent upon all the imported goods from Manchester. This duty, though levied for revenue purposes, served the important end of protecting the produce of the Indian mills. The Indian Tariff Act (XI of 1882) abolished these duties and gave, in Lord Ripon's words, "entire free trade to India." I have, in the third part of my book "*The Indian History of Our Own Times*," discussed at length the political and economic beatings of this measure, and I need not advert to that topic here further than to remark that the protection of young industries in colonies and dependencies has been held by the greatest economic



thinker of the present age, John Stuart Mill, as entirely justifiable. The cotton mills at the present day are situated mostly in the Bombay Presidency, but there are some in other parts of the country. There are little more than half-a-dozen cotton mills in Bengal, nearly the same number in the N.-W.-Provinces, a few in the central provinces and Hyderabad, and about a dozen in Madras. In Bombay the cotton mills number nearly half a hundred in the town and island. The rates of wages in the cotton industry are fairly high. A full-grown workman earns nearly Rs. 30 a month and the women and boys earn proportionately high wages. The hours of work are from six in the morning to six in the night with an hour in midday for meals and rest. But the women and children have not to work so hard. The Indian twist and yarn and the Indian colored piece-goods find a ready market in China, Japan and even Australia. Thus it will be seen that the cotton industry of India at the present day is a rising one and meets a demand that is felt. There can be no more pleasing spectacle for the lover of his native country than a view of the tall chimney-stalks of the town and island of Bombay. The present writer was called upon, in his professional capacity, to visit Bombay more than half-a-dozen times during the year 1891. As he used to enter that beautiful island by that railway line which, after traversing the arid plains Rajputana and the rich opium fields of Malwa, takes the traveller through large and well-spanned bridges over the Nerbudda and the Tapti, the refreshing sight of the mills worked by native capital met his eye and inspired him with a patriotic pride that is certainly excusable. The native of India that has a tincture of sympathy with the industrial well-being of his country can meet with no more grateful sight than the one of tall chimney-stalks for many miles together, representing native capital and native energy, as he looks down upon the city and island of Bombay either from the top of the Rajabai Tower or that portion of Malabar Hill which is closest to the Tower of Silence.

The Silk industry ranks next to cotton among the Indian industries. In Assam and British Burma an inferior kind of silk is the general clothing material. The silk clothings used in India are either entirely of pure silk or mixed silk and cotton, the warp of one material being crossed by the woof of the other. The superior sort of silk obtainable in India is confined to the Burdwan and Rajshahi divisions of Bengal. The worm that supplies silk in Assam and Burma is fed chiefly with the leaves of jungle trees, and mulberry is reared only in Bengal. The cocoons, as soon as

they develop into full size, are taken down and boiled in burning water, thus killing the animals and getting the fine fibre available for all purposes. The Assamese silk is of inferior quality and chiefly used for purposes of local consumption. But the Bengal silk is exported in a raw state in very large quantities to England. The silk fabrics lend themselves to the most gorgeous colouring and embroidery, and the finest brocades are invariably made of silk. The gold and silver wire that is so abundantly manufactured in India is used to give a glowing colour to silk fabrics and the ornamentation is often carried to the highest perfection. The brocades of Benares and Ahmedabad are far-famed and contain the most splendid ornamentation. The Indian silk cannot hold its own with the produce of the mulberry tracts on all sides of the Mediterranean. The handkerchiefs used by the higher classes all over India are made of pure silk and these are also exported in very large quantities to Europe. The silk fabrics which are adorned and decorated are often designated by poetic names. Silk was at one time one of the most flourishing industries of India. The East India Company in its early days, with its commercial instincts, used to take large quantities of raw and manufactured silk to the markets of Europe. It is now a stationary, if not a steadily declining, industry.

The jute industry of Bengal is now a very flourishing one, and the profits that are made by Indian capitalists are very large. Jute is grown principally in the flooded lands which abound in the province of Bengal which is intersected by very large and powerful rivers. The cultivation of jute does not interfere with that of food-grains inasmuch as they are only to be grown on lands which are naturally unfitted for any other crop except, perhaps, some sorts of inferior paddy. This jute-producing tract lies principally on the banks of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra. The jute plants, after they have reached their full development, are left in the water for a considerable period of time to rot. When they are completely rotten, the fibre is extracted, pressed into bales and either manufactured into sacks in India or exported to Europe. European capital has founded in Calcutta a good many jute mills which supply sacks to the whole of India. The sacks that are necessary for the large grain-marts of Upper India, such as Delhi, Cawnpur and Patna, are supplied from Calcutta. The exports of jute amount to nearly 60 millions and are highly valued in the great markets of the world. The jute industry, which is now one of the principal features of Calcutta, has been successful in spreading a general standard of comfort among the lower classes of the

population in the Eastern Districts of Bengal. Mr. O'Connor, whose views of Indian trade are entitled to the greatest consideration, has repeatedly expressed a hope that the time will shortly come when Bengal will be able to hold the first place in the world with reference to this article of her produce, in the great American, British, and Continental markets. Australia, China and the United States are the largest jute customers of India, and Indian jute has been pronounced to be of so superior a quality that the fibres of the finer kinds almost resemble silk. The only impediment which threatens the further progress of the jute trade are the disadvantages that are incident to all joint-stock enterprises. These are too well-known to every student of political economy to be dwelt upon at any great length. The principal one, of course, is the fact that the managers, having but little personal interest in the ultimate success of the business, do not take the same interest in their work that would be taken by individual merchants or manufacturers. With reference to this trade too the forward mercantile contracts have ruined a great many individuals and enterprises. The most approved opinion on this subject is that the jute trade and industry, if carried on with proper care, will in time be able to supplant the Dundee manufactures once for all and to supply England herself with sacks at a much cheaper price than the Dundee manufacturers can.

The drawing-out of gold and silver wire is an ancient industry of India, and the numerous state occasions which in the East require a gorgeous display have given this branch of art a good deal of encouragement. We have seen already how the silk fabrics are embroidered with these costly articles, but woollen shawls, velvet, and even leather are embroidered in this way. The shawls of Cashmere and the adjacent districts of the Punjab made of the wool of a goat named the shawl-goat, the *chogas* which are made of camel's hair, the velvet which is worn and used on state occasions, as well as the canopies, the trappings, and the covering of the same cloth used by rich men, are all most elaborately embroidered. The gold and silver ornaments which are used in nearly every family throughout the Indian continent often display the highest art. The ornaments are often made in the shape of some choice articles of nature, especially flowers and imitations of leaves. The work of preparing the ornaments is entrusted to Indian workmen and they seem to be experts in their profession. European ladies, who are generally good judges of this branch of industry, seem to show a good deal of interest in it. In the Presidency of Madras, ornaments are made to resemble the figures

of the deities of ancient Hindu mythology. Another way in which gold and silver lend themselves towards luxury is the silver filigree work of Cuttack. The filigree work requires the delicate adjustment of silver threads, and is done by persons of keen sight and light fingers. The workmen at Lucknow, Dacca and Kashmir often turn out work that has been described in the most eloquent terms by Sir George Birdwood. The gold and silver thread can be drawn out with great skill and fineness by Indian workmen. One rupee worth of gold or silver can be drawn out to wire nearly 800 yards long. Gold and silver thread is also used in forming leaves on the patterns of those that are seen in the dresses of the Jaipur and Hyderabad noblemen. The precious stones are used in India with artistic feeling and effectiveness. The shawl prepared by order of the late Gaikwar of Baroda which cost a crore of rupees has been described in language which I hope but feebly to imitate and which is well-known to all interested in Indian industries. The blaze of diamonds and other precious stones that is witnessed among the higher orders of the Indian nobility on ceremonial occasions evinces at the same time the most skillful arrangement. It would, indeed, require the pen and imagination of the author of the Arabian Nights to do full justice to these gems and to their natural and artistic effect. With reference to the other industries in metals, the Indian work in iron, brass and copper is entitled to more than a passing mention. The iron industry of India is an ancient one and the steel which is used for Indian sword-blades is the best of its kind. The damascening of brass work with silver and gold leads to results that were highly appreciated in the great International Exhibitions of the world. The damascening in silver, which is made on a ground of bronze, is carried on chiefly at Bidar in the Nizam's dominions and often displays itself in numerous floriated patterns. The brass-work of Moradabad, Bhilwara, and Murshidabad often shows great merit, and has much more than a local reputation. The best specimens of the Indian brazier's work can be had only on special order. The vulgar articles that are exposed for sale in the Indian bazaars are chiefly those that find a ready market and do not exhibit any special excellence. Of the other articles of interest and beauty produced by Indian industry, we must draw the reader's attention to the pottery made in the many schools of art. The clay figures, mostly life-like representations, that are made at Krishnagore, Lucknow, Jaipur, and Poona; the wooden edifices, elaborately carved and painted, that are to be found mostly in Western India,

the boxes made of the same material and displaying either the same workmanship or beautifully inlaid with brass-wire on the model of what we find in so much perfection in the town of Shiraz; and the ivory-carving which lends itself to produce the best articles of fancy and which are to be witnessed at Amritsar, Benares, Travancore, Delhi and Murshidabad. Carvings in marble, which are exactly of the same nature as in the historical buildings of Agra, are yet flourishing industries in the cities of Agra and Jaipur. European capital has introduced into India the Brewing industry and the beer that is brewed here is rapidly rising in public favor and supplanting the imported beer in the Indian Commissariat department. The beer is brewed chiefly in the hill stations of Northern and Southern India and the hops used are entirely imported. The leather industry of India, which is confined to only tanning, and to the supply of saddle, boots, and trunks, was confined to Cawnpur for many years. Recently a factory on a larger scale has been established with native capital at Agra. The carpet industry of India is confined to producing two sorts of carpet, the woollen one known as the *Kalin* or *Galicha* and the threaden one known as *Satranji*. The groundwork is principally of a white colour and this is crossed by other ornamental colours. The outturn of the Jails of Mirzapur, Agra, Jabbalpur, and Warangal, is highly appreciated both in India and England. They were, till very recently made with convict labour and offered cheap in the market. But the Indian workmen have often been known to produce the best specimens of carpet where all that can advantageously set off the beauty and fineness of material and texture, has been harmoniously combined. Carpet-making has long been an indigenous industry and the best species are often found inlaid with gold and silver wire and diamonds and other precious stones. The processes employed by the Indian handicraftsman in laying the foundation of the carpet, in compacting the threads together and introducing coloured wool into the warp, have been pronounced by the highest authorities, to be excellent. Indian carpets are beginning to be very largely appreciated and even foreign Emperors are known to keep a large assortment of these useful and durable articles.

We have given above a rapid survey of the Manufacturing and Art industries of India to be found at the present day. The mining industry and the agricultural industry will form the subject of the two next articles. In speaking of what has been termed the Art industries, we have not adverted to the raw

materials. Our readers will find a sufficient notice of these in the chapter that will treat of the Indian agricultural products. We have not entered into a scientific discussion of the processes by which these industries are carried on. They are technical in their nature, suited only to especial works on the subject, and beyond the scope of the ordinary reader. The enumeration, however, of the industries we have given above shows conclusively that the natives of India had from time immemorial an unquestioned aptitude for all that gives grace and beauty to life, and if to-day they are comparatively low in the scale of manufacturing and commercial nations, it is because the times have changed entirely and all industries have to be carried on under the altered conditions brought about by times. We have as yet proved unequal to the changing needs of our country and we must brace ourselves for a vigorous effort in this direction. The Indian workman neither wants dexterity of hand, nor originality of conception. But he has yet to perceive that his lot is cast in matter-of-fact times when he must confine his attention to producing in abundant quantities those articles of daily use which find a ready market and that he must learn to get the cheapest materials, employ the processes that prove the cheapest in the long run, and sell his articles at as cheap a price as possible. He must reserve his higher skill for those rare occasions when the caprices of wealth or the needs of magnificence require that he must produce something that will stagger the imagination, gratify the cultured tastes of the modern age, and produce the most brilliant and the most graceful of artistic effects. It is exceedingly to be doubted whether true art could flourish under such circumstances. The industries of Carthage and Babylon, of Rome and Greece, of Spain and Italy, of Persia and India, have had their highest developments under absolute monarchs free from constitutional control in the matter of expenditure and anxious to gather a striking and brilliant store proportionate to the wealth of their empires, the lustre of their victories, and the culture of the most advanced courtiers. India need not be ashamed in respect of the excellence and development of her Art industries. What she has now to perceive is that the affairs of the world require to be carried on in other ways than the old conservative methods, and that the application of steam to the common concerns of human life has altered the very conditions of labour. The wonders of those inventions of science which have subordinated the agents of nature to the complete control of man, she has as

yet but dimly realised. It is the mission of the Government and our educated and wealthy countrymen in the immediate future to raise India in the industrial scale of nations by the introduction of those scientific processes of manufacture and qualifying the people by intellectual and practical training to control a dangerous machinery and make it yield the cheapest outturn. India wants neither intellect, nor material, nor labour. What she requires is a supreme and self-sacrificing effort on the part of her ablest administrators and worthiest sons to advance her materially in this direction so that she may retain her former pre-eminence of position in the industrial history of the human race.

## INCOMPLETENESS.

So much to do, so little done  
 It is not this that vexeth me,  
 But that the flesh is ever weak  
 To do the soul's work faithfully  
  
 We mar our spirit's perfect plan;  
 The thought is never all enshrined,  
 The goal is neared but never reached,  
 Matter's inertness baffles mind  
  
 The unished work looks incomplete  
 Can the e defects indeed be real?  
 I look again they are I miss  
 The form and hues of my ideal  
  
 The form is not all here, the tints  
 Are earthlier than they should have been  
 A ghostly artist's clumsy hand  
 Has tampered with my fairy scene  
  
 I try again—I have left out  
 The cunning lines I caught before,  
 If I can but combine the two  
 Surely I triumph? And I pore  
  
 Upon my work The thing is done!  
 The third! Alas, a future still  
 I cannot urge the whole thought forth  
 The nerves remain the eye will  
  
 Perchance I shall succeed in words,  
 Language might set my purpose well,  
 It might proclaim to other men  
 What I could have them hear me tell.  
  
 I fail to utter all I would  
 My argument, too, is at fault.  
 So much for prose, perhaps in verse  
 I shall succeed.— My nerves halt!  
  
 Alas! And this must ever be.  
 The subtler hues of thought grow pale  
 Being gazed at, and elude our grasp  
 Like wet leaves in a rainy gale.



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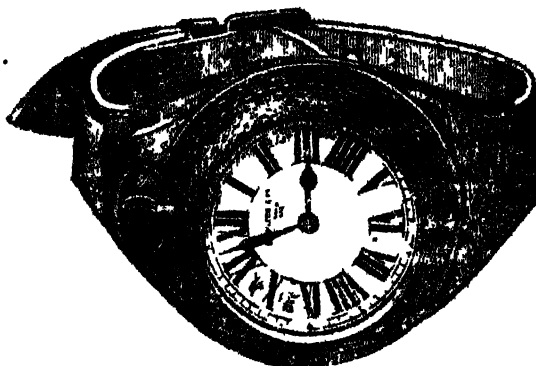
Horse Clippers, "Clarks'"	...	Rs. 8	8	each.
Do. "Newmarket"	...	"	4	8
Do. "Dandy" ...	...	"	2	12
Mane Scissors ...	...	"	2	0
Spring Shears for Manes, &c.	...	"	1	8
Singeing Lamps...	...	"	4	0
Curry Combs, As. 8 and	...	"	0	12
Horse "Dandy" Brushes	...	"	1	0
Do. "Body" do. Re. 1-8 and	...	"	2	0
Chain ...	...	"	0	10
Farriers' Knives, As. 12 and	...	"	1	0
Do. Pincers	...	"	2	0
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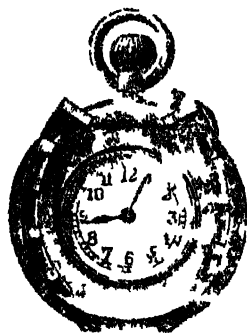
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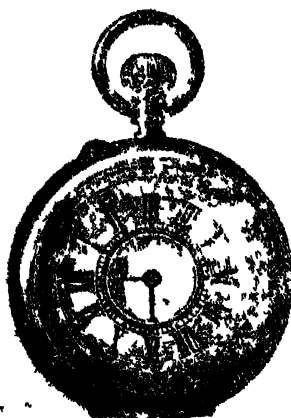
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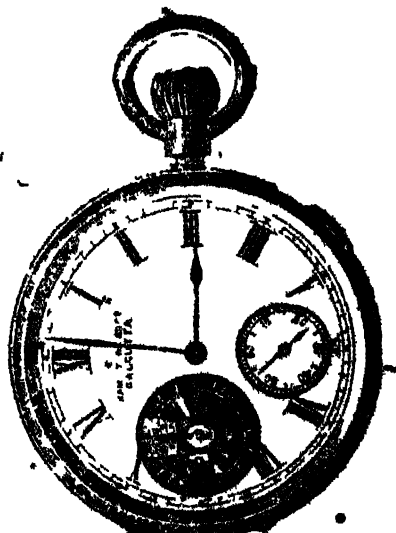
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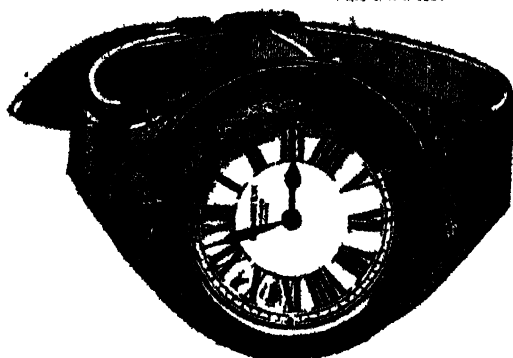
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Do. "Newmarket"	...	" 4	8 "
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Mane Scissors ...	...	" 2	0 "
Spring Shears for Manes, &c.	...	" 1	8 "
Singeing Lamps...	...	" 4	0 "
Curry Combs, As. 8 and ...	...	" 0	12 "
Horse "Dandy" Brushes ...	...	" 1	0 "
Do. "Body" do. Re. 1 8 and ..	...	" 2	0 "
Chain Brushes ...	...	" 0	10 "
Farmers' Knives, As 12 and ..	...	" 1	0 "
Do. Pincers ...	...	" 2	0 "
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Galvanized Stable Buckets -	...	" 0	12 "
Stable Brooms ...	...	" 1	2 "

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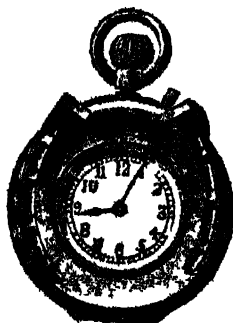
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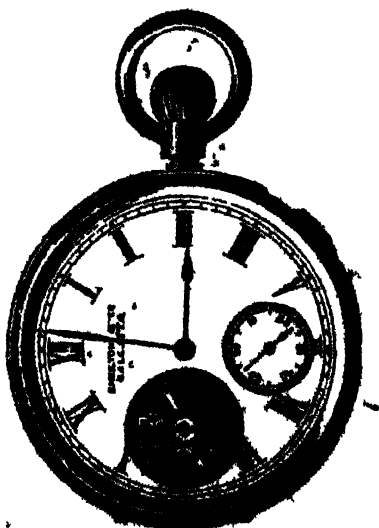


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THE  
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No. 3.—MARCH 1892.

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*HISTORY OF INDIAN INFANTICIDE*

Those who are acquainted with the India of the present day will find it difficult to realize that there was a time, not in the far past but within the memory of living men, when a long series of educational and repressive measures had to be undertaken by the Government for putting down the practice of Infanticide. This practice, so hateful to the civilized mind, has prevailed to a very large extent in different quarters of the globe. We find traces of it not only among the civilised and aboriginal races of Hindustan, but in the deserts of Arabia, the dense forests of New Zealand, the smiling and fertile valleys of America, and even amidst the culture and refinement of classic Greece. We find it alluded to in the laws of Lycurgus, where we find it laid down almost as a sacred injunction that all infants sickly and deformed were to be exposed to certain death. Confucius recognizes its wide prevalence in the Celestial Empire and raises his powerful voice against it. Mahomet, in his teachings, which have now spread from the deserts of Arabia over some of the fairest regions of the earth, prohibits this practice as sinful and unnatural. The laws of Justinian and the laws of Manu are equally severe against it. Yet notwithstanding all these efforts of the immortal founders of the great systems of human faith and schools of law, we find infanticide rearing its hateful form and making for itself a home through several centuries among races and nations that could not possibly

have any kind of intercourse with each other. To the imagination of youth, such a state of things might, indeed, seem inexplicable: The affection of a parent for offspring has justly been described as one of the strongest of human sentiments. It is not only the privilege of man but the sacrament of Nature herself and goes down to the animal creation. This pure and tender passion, with the cognate sentiment of filial piety, has been described with richness of imagination and exuberance of embellishment, in every age and in every clime, by persons gifted with poetic genius of the highest order: Sheridan builds on it one of the noblest passages of English eloquence.\* Erskine resorts to it for one of the most powerful pieces of forensic rhetoric. Ruskin draws on it for some of the most thrilling appeals and some of the most delicious imagery that have refreshed the active man of business of the modern age in his hours of learned leisure. Those engaged in the duties and struggles of actual life have witnessed very touching manifestations of it. What might be the motives then which induced so many parents to put an end to the lives of their own offspring at the moment of their birth, from the beginning of history? The practice would not appear so very unnatural as it would on first thoughts, especially when we call to mind in how many instances mothers do away with the lives of infants born rather prematurely as the offspring of unwedded love, for wiping away traces of their shame. History records many cases in which gross and sordid motives relating to the material advantages and disadvantages of life have triumphed over the purest of human emotions. The Bible records how in the valley of Hinnom children were sacrificed to avert the wrath of God either in the shape of national calamities or individual misfortunes. The historians of Greece have recorded how pride of birth and of bodily vigor doomed many unfortunate children at Sparta to untimely death by a cruel method. The Missionaries who have carried on their philanthropic labours among the savages of the New World or of the islands of the

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\* [The passage in question, though characterised by undisputed vigour and though highly ornate, has been condemned by critics of true genius like De Quincey. That great writer goes so far as to accuse Burke of consummate hypocrisy for his unstinted praise of this and other passages in Sheridan's great speech. He says with great truth that the entire passage would read like a conundrum if the express reference to filial piety were omitted. We think the accepted opinion is that whatever the merits of the speech as delivered, imperfect reporting has damaged it beyond repair, and the particular passage bearing on filial piety has been accorded a very undue measure of applause—Ed. N. M.]

Polynesian group, tell us that the native races are urged to these unhallowed deeds by motives which in some cases are similar to those that stimulated the Amorite and in others to those which had planted themselves in the breast of the Spartan.

The Infanticide that prevailed in Hindustan up to the days of the Mutiny may be classed under two heads. The first is that which was widely prevalent in Bengal proper and in the adjoining districts, *vis.*, offering of the first-born infant to the myriad gods of the Ocean as a religious sacrifice. This is the form of infanticide so eloquently described by Bishop Heber in his delightful writings. The same legislative bill that abolished the rite of *Suttee* aimed its unflinching blow against this practice also. The Indian legislature made it penal to offer human victims either to the gods of the air or the gods of the sea. Superstition which had a firm stronghold in Hindustan raised its voice against the proposed enactment as an interference with the religious usages of the native races. This argument, which for a long time restrained the hands of the English reformer, at last gave way to the supreme claims of humanity, and the magistracy and the police were directed to arrest and punish as common criminals those who took part or in any way abetted the offering of such murderous sacrifices. Backed by the enlightened opinion of an advancing province it was easy for the Government to put down this form of infanticide and to order the sacred streams of the Ganges and the Jumna, with their tributaries and channels, for ever to roll on their fertilizing course, unrippled by the throes and uncrimsoned by the blood of innocent victims. Every case of infanticide of this form had to be made with pompous religious rites as well as with due solemnity. This could not but bring it to the notice of the authorities, and the law could deal with offenders easily. But there was another and a far darker form of infanticide prevailing in the N. W. Provinces, Rajputana, and the Punjab, carried on secretly in the recesses of the *zenana*, impenetrable by the eye of authority,—a form of the very existence of which the English rulers of the country were not aware till it accidentally revealed its hideous features to a vigilant English officer. This kind of infanticide was largely practised among the Rajput races, both in their original home and in the numerous colonies they planted in British India, as well as among some races of the Punjab who will be detailed hereafter. The methods usually employed for the execution of this diabolical deed, which however by tacit recognition was an established custom among them, were principally four. The mother gave no nourishment to



the new-born female babe and thus it was left to die of sheer starvation. The umbilical cord was drawn tight round its neck at the moment of its birth and it expired immediately. The giving of small pills of bhang or other poisonous substances, and the smearing of the mother's breast with drugs the inhaling of which is deleterious to human existence, were also a familiar method. In some parts of the country again female infants were buried alive in large holes which were full of milk. The crime used to be perpetrated at the very moment of birth and the unwelcome stranger was sent to everlasting sleep. The males of the family had usually nothing to do with the actual perpetration of the deed, it being left entirely to the females. The earliest mention in history of this form of Indian infanticide occurs in the reign of Jehangir. Jehangir was travelling with all the splendours of a Mogul camp in a part of his dominions, and being free for a time from the paraphernalia of royalty, mixed freely with his subjects. He chanced to learn, in course of conversation, that not a single girl between the ages of 2 and 11 existed in the village near which he was encamped and he learnt that all girls were made away with in that village which was a Rajput one. He at once issued his royal *firman* prohibiting the practice in that particular village. This order had an instantaneous effect in the case of the territories where it was enforced, but the subject gradually faded away from the Imperial mind amid the cares and pleasures of that luxurious though turbulent age and in the course of a few years, the very village which had given birth to this royal edict was infected with this standing social evil in a more vigorous form. Colonel Tod, in that standard work on Rajastan, relates how the enlightened founder of Jeypur, Sewai Rajah Jey Singh was shocked by the universal prevalence of this custom in his dominions and from those palaces and chambers at Amber which still excite the interest and the curiosity of the traveller, he published to the world a thoroughgoing measure which in its essentials was the same as that which rooted it out at a later age. The astute Rajput chief, whose calm brow and costly apparel looks down upon the traveller as he paces the marble pavements of the building that commemorates the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to that beautiful and elegant city, sought to strike the axe at the root of this pernicious system. It was not difficult for him to find out that pride of birth which actuated the Rajput to seek equal alliances, and the excessive dowry that was indispensable at a daughter's marriage were the principal causes that led to all but a wholesale destruction of

female infants. Jey Singh was powerless to deal with the former of these motives, but with reference to the latter he regulated by a royal proclamation the amount that each class of his subjects would be permitted to spend on the occasions of marriage in their families. This succeeded well for a time, but Colonel Tod relates that one of the Sirdars, the Chandawat of Saloombra, disobeyed the mandate and spent a considerable sum on the marriage of his daughter. The Rajput Sirdars occupied, during Mahomedan times and the early part of British rule, a position with reference to the reigning families, analogous to that which is assigned to the feudal barons of the middle ages, a position which has been described with the precision of scientific enumeration by Guizot and Robertson. The royal families stood in awe of them for they could act in opposition to the royal will with impunity. The example of the powerful baron above-named, who was one of those on whose support the central authority of the king rested under the system which has been made familiar to the English public by Sir Alfred Lyall in his published writings, was speedily followed by other members of his class and the salutary edict was obeyed more in the breach than in the observance. The other princes of Rajputana silently tolerated this practice and no effort was made to suppress it till about the middle of the present century. We shall go on with the character of the measures adopted for this object subsequently, but it is necessary to mention here that the English rulers did not pay any attention to this subject until they could find out that religion did not sanction it, and until they had peace within their borders to enable them to enforce the reform. It is by no means an easy task for the English administrator to learn the secrets of the Hindu Zenana, and it is still more difficult to make the Hindu mind, wedded as it is to traditions and customs hoary with the length of years, to see all things from the European's stand-point of view. But the fact, which could not be concealed, that in villages where there were hundreds of boys between the ages of two and twelve there hardly existed a single girl, coupled with the casual and involuntary admissions of the Rajputs themselves to the District officers while out on tour, brought the actual state of things to the notice of the administrators of the country. An intelligent and organized effort was made for the eradication of this evil. Happily, the effort was crowned with success and the practice almost disappeared in a few years. We are all aware that penal laws, when not backed by social sentiment, lose the greater part of their terrors, and it was

necessary gradually to mould the sentiment of the infanticidal races in such a way that the old motives no longer operated powerfully on them, and that they might come to regard the practice with abhorrence. How this was done we shall relate, but before we do so, we should attempt to place before our readers, as briefly as we can, the motives themselves. Those among whom the practice of destroying daughters prevailed to a large extent were some of the noblest, and most manly and martial races of the N. W. Provinces, the Punjab, and Rajputana. It is an universal custom among the Hindus that everybody must seek an equal alliance and that one marrying one's daughter to an inferior subsection of his own caste, became socially degraded from that very moment and had to endure the torments incident to that position for the rest of his life. The son-in-law in Hindu society is a person who has to be made much of, and Mr. Ward does not go far beyond the truth when he tells us in his book on the Hindus that almost divine honors have to be paid to him. The very word father-in-law has become, in consequence of this, a term of grave abuse in almost every dialect spoken by the Hindu race. Thus the girl, instead of being the delight of the domestic hearth, is from the moment of her birth a source of unfailing anxiety to her father. He has not only to look for a suitable match for her but is to be treated as an inferior by the family of the son-in-law. This is a position which to the proud warrior, with his hereditary rank, seems extremely galling, and he is naturally anxious to avoid his being placed in it. The Hindu father must marry his daughter before she reaches the age of puberty with the alternative of his being consigned to eternal perdition if the injunction is not obeyed. The risk of incurring social degradation again is so much feared by the Hindus that they for centuries considered the murder of their own female children preferable to damaging their own hereditary honor in the estimation of neighbours. The English officers found that as a logical outcome of this feeling the higher the claim to birth preferred by a tribe or caste, the more frequent the crime amongst its members, till on reaching the highest eminence, the females disappeared altogether. Those who are unaware of the inner structure of Hindu society will fail to appreciate the full force of this motive, but those who have read of the influence of the Herald's College in Great Britain will readily understand how birth and blood, assisted by the sanctions of religion, determined men's conduct for good or evil. The other difficulty of a daughter's marriage among the above tribes and clans was the enormous expense attending on

such ceremonies. The daughter must be given away to the bridegroom with suitable presents in money, clothes, and jewellery. When the contract of betrothal is made, some presents must be made to the bridegroom and his nearest relations. The kith and kin of the bridegroom who would accompany him on the day of marriage, have to be sumptuously fed, and presents must be distributed among them. The Brahmins are to be honored on such occasions with suitable gifts. Some improvement has been effected under the supervision of enlightened English officers, but till lately a very large crowd of inferior Brahmins, known variously as Bhats and Charans, creatures as useless and as rapacious as any that Dante and Virgil created, used to fleece the unfortunate father of the bride to the utmost of their power and extract from him the utmost farthing they could. They used to come with all the publicity and authority of legal tax-gatherers and they preferred their claims in the most noisy and disgraceful manner imaginable. If the father of the bride or the bridegroom refused to pay these harpies they would not only create a row on the spot, which from their numbers might become terrible, but they would try to have their revenge at the earliest possible opportunity. They had no specific occupation to follow. They were often mere idlers and they might be found lolling in indolent groups in the neighbourhood of every considerable town and village. The Bhats were sometimes retained by the wealthier folk to sing the praises of the gods and to chaunt the fame of ancestors in lyric strains. They were usually the keepers of the national genealogies and they were the referees on all disputed questions of heraldry. It was, therefore, always prudent to propitiate them, as otherwise they would brand the offending person with eternal infamy. The crowd of Bhats and Charans used to be swelled by the sweepings of the bazaars of towns and cities, and the veriest scum of society, persons with whose faces the bride's father was unacquainted and who passed unobserved as members of the priestly caste. All the idle and dissolute, therefore, had to be honored, fed, and bribed on the marriage day. The marriage day of the daughter is still a day of reckless extravagance with the majority of the Hindus and the expenses are often considerably more than what the party concerned can afford. This extravagance brings on a long period of severe privations and miseries. The poorer classes have to spend not only the last penny they have at their houses but are compelled to borrow considerable amounts, which under the system of usury prevalent in India they are never able to repay, but which

descends as a hereditary debt from generation to generation. The money-lender was as rife during Hindu and Mahomedan periods as he is to-day, but the former rulers of the country had not the same respect for the sanctity of contracts as the English Jurist has. The laws and usages then prevalent did not place the debtor absolutely at the mercy of the creditor. Above all, the debtor could never be sold out of his land. All that could be taken from him was his surplus produce but enough was to be left for the subsistence of himself and his family. Those who have like myself frequently come in contact with litigants who are dragging on a miserable existence under the burden of a perpetual debt can only conceive what life-long misery it is. The Indian peasantry is very poor. Their average wages for the last three or four centuries have rarely exceeded three annas a day. They can effect savings only under exceptional circumstances, and it is a regular hand-to-mouth business with them. Their lot has always been as hard as any known to humanity. Sir William Hunter, whose knowledge of Indian statistics is almost unequalled declares in a grave state-paper that forty millions of them pass through life with only a single meal a day. Thus the Hindu father could not but make a very sharp distinction between his boys and girls. The one was the delight of his youth, the companion of his work, the support of his age. The other was the sure means of humiliating his pride of birth and bringing eternal poverty to his door. He thought it preferable to sacrifice the female child rather than incur the risk of the long train of miseries which she was certain to bring. The existence of this form of female infanticide is recognized in the literature of the country and is described with remarkable terseness in some lines of the Roman poet Ovid. It is not for us to enter into the analysis of the two motives that perverted to such a considerable extent the mental vision of the numerous races who resorted to the practice. Writers on moral philosophy might profitably dwell on this aspect of the question and trace how in so many undoubted instances the behests of nature have been overruled by the prudential considerations of worldly life. We are far from defending the custom of female infanticide as it once prevailed, but we have no sympathy with those writers, and they have not been few, who shower the most vehement abuses on the devoted head of the Hindu race on this ground. As that eminent statesman and accomplished man of letters of the past generation, Sir John Malcom, observed in his farewell speech, the "Hindus are to be judged by a standard which is suited to their beliefs, their usages, their habits, their occupa-

tions, their rank in life, the ideas they have imbibed in infancy and the stage of civilization to which they are advanced." It is, indeed, a curious problem of ethics how so many persons of high principles and unsullied honor countenanced this practice that is so repugnant to all the ordinary feelings and sentiments of the human heart. The history of the suppression of female infanticide in India, the methods employed, and the success that attended them in the various localities, form a subject replete with interest, and should not be hurried over in the tail of an article.

S. C. MUKERJEE.

[NOTE.—It is our belief that the motives that led to Female Infanticide among the high-born Rajputs and other Kshatriyas of the N. W. Provinces and Guzerat still exist in their full force, although the actual perpetration of the crime has been partially stopped by the penal legislation of the British Government. Marriages, amongst those tribes, are now as costly as they were a hundred or fifty years ago. Much has been done from time to time by individual workers towards reducing marriage expenditure in this country. Moonshi Peary Lal, in particular, of Sasseram, worked with great earnestness, with the assistance of men like Dewan Joyprokash Lal and Babu Harbans Sahay and, amongst officials, of officers like Sir William Muir. The late Mr. Gibbs, also, while Commissioner of Sindh, exerted himself with great activity for regulating these expenses. But the success was temporary. The hundreds of meetings that Moonshi Peary Lal held, the hundreds of local Committees that he organised, have produced very little fruit. For a time there was great enthusiasm almost everywhere. But that enthusiasm died a natural death. Even Education and Time cannot be expected to do the needful. For, look at the social condition of Bengal. Here education may be said to have intensified the evil. Youths who have passed the University Examinations have their price. Within the last five and twenty years marriage expenses in Bengal have increased nearly a hundredfold. The girl's side have to pay. The difficulty of marrying a girl has become so great that Female Infanticide may be said to prevail as much in Bengal as it now exists among the Kshatriyas of the North West. The statement may seem startling, but nevertheless it is true. Only the method of killing is different. The placenta is not placed on the nose. The throat is not wound round with the umbilical chord. But forbearance to summon efficient medical aid when the girl falls ill is the means. "O, it is a female child. It will not die. Don't be anxious!" These words are in everybody's mouth when a girl falls ill. If a male child happens to fall ill, the father spares no expense for summoning the most efficient medical aid that can be had. But, truly speaking, does he act in the same way if a daughter falls ill? Her illness causes little solicitude. The family physician is entrusted with the case. The treatment is not changed if signs of improvement do not appear. Providence, however, is watchful and kind where man is not. For the poor things recover very speedily, there being more deaths among male children than among female ones. The Census every time shows that the latter numerically exceed the former. Science may explain it in whatever way it likes. The very solicitude felt by parents when male children fall ill may be responsible for the failure to bring about

recovery. Napoleon's counsel to the physician who attended his royal spouse to regard her not as the Empress of France but as a poor helpless girl in a charity hospital of Paris, might have been exceedingly wise. Allopathy itself and the vengeance with which it is practised when too many physicians are called in for consultation may have to answer for the greater number of deaths among male children than among female ones who are generally safe from the effects of collected medical wisdom. But then the religious man sees in this numerical preponderance of girls over boys notwithstanding the neglect to which the former are consigned in times of illness, the hand of a merciful Providence.

We have heard respectable men congratulate bereaved parents upon their good fortune when the bereavement has been due to the death of a daughter. The heart is guilty of female Infanticide although the hand is not. The enormous price asked by the parents of youths eligible for marriage is the cause of all this. The Government of the country will not interfere. It will stand by as all good Governments must do. With the consequence, the direct effect, of this difficulty of marrying girls, the Government is, of course, concerned. Actual murder it must punish. But is it not perfectly powerless to prevent parents from neglecting their female children even though that neglect may result in death? Can legislation make a father summon the best doctor for a daughter or do for her those hundred things that are done for a male child for restoring it to health?

Every male child has a horoscope, and two names. The real name is kept secret lest the child is injured by enemies through incantations performed with the aid of that name. Female children generally have each but one name. That alone furnishes indubitable proof of the difference of sentiment entertained by parents in this country with regard to daughters and sons. Of course, the educated classes do not attach any significance to the two names of male children. With them these are kept more in accordance with custom than design. But what about the rest of the country?

Marriage expenses are fast increasing in Bengal. If not checked in time, there can be no doubt that female Infanticide as it was practised even among the Yadejas of Guzerat will very soon flourish among us. The rich and the well-to-do may not practise it. But the poorer portion of the respectable classes will certainly have recourse to it. In view of this danger, the practice of even selling daughters for money would recommend itself to most men. This practice is opposed to only sentiment. But the killing of daughters, or the congratulating of parents when daughters are killed by unchecked disease, is equally opposed to divine command and human legislation. Only, murder cannot be so defined as to include the kind of neglect of which we complain, or the sense of relief the father experiences at the death of a daughter. But who can doubt that such neglect or even such sense of relief is not as guilty in the eyes of the All-seeing as murder itself?—Ed. N. M.]

## MICHAEL MADHU SUDAN DUTT.

## CHAPTER II 1847-1855.

## IN MADRAS—ENGLISH POEMS—JOURNALISM.

The materials for Mr. Dutt's life in Madras are extremely meagre. All that we know of this part of his life is that shortly after his arrival there he was employed as a Teacher in the Madras High School, that he published two Poems in English in the year 1849, and that throughout his stay in that Presidency, he was connected with several leading local newspapers of the day. Even at this distance of time he lives in the memory of old Madras as the author of some beautiful poems and as a successful journalist. Now and again we come across Madras newspapers giving interesting reminiscences of Mr. Dutt in that Presidency.

The following lines appeared in a newspaper of the Madras Presidency some years ago. "The Dutt, we believe, is a well-known family in Calcutta; in Bengal, as wealthy as well-known. A member of the family was in Madras several years since. He had adopted Christianity and assumed the English garb. He edited a paper which he called the *Hindu*, pre-eminently for its good English and gave a lecture on 'who is this stranger that is come amongst us?' He was fondly addicted to smoking, defending the practice by saying that as the smoke rises upwards, his thoughts assumed sublimity. This Mr. Dutt when he heard of the passing of the Hindu Converts' Act left Madras for Calcutta expecting to substantiate his claim to a part of his father's property." Again in the *People's Friend* of 24th July 1889, we read the following. "The Dutt's are a family of poets and several of them possess literary genius. One of the members of this great family, Mr. Michael Madhu Sudan Dutt, visited Madras in 1852 and he served as a Teacher in the High School of the Madras University in those times. He was the author of some beautiful poems, and as a journalist his writings won for him the esteem and friendship of the late John Bruce Norton and Mr. Henry Mead who was the editor of the *Athenæum* in its palmy days. Calcutta's fame for poetry appears to have been monopolized by the Dutt family, and



a young lady, not long since, of that family gave the world some admirable poetical compositions which have established her name as 'a poetess in rivalry with Mrs. Hemens of English and Mrs. Sigourney of American fame.' The mistake in the above extracts about the family to which our poet belonged is evident, but it is pardonable when we consider that it is made by foreigners to whom Mr. Dutt's antecedents and the history of his family were not known. Readers in this part of the country need not be told that M. M. S. Dutt did not belong to the well-known literary family of Rambagan in Calcutta that was evidently meant by the writers of the passages quoted above. Yet, notwithstanding this mistake, the identity of the individual meant by the writers of the above extracts is clearly indicated by the accounts we have before us.

The English poems by which Mr. Dutt is still remembered by the people of Madras are *The Captive Ladie*, an Indian Tale, in two Cantos, and *Visions of the past, A Fragment*. They were printed at the Madras Advertiser Press in 1849. They had been long out of print but have been recently reprinted by a weekly newspaper of Bengal. It is to be regretted that they have not been widely read in this part of the country. *The Captive Ladie* was dedicated, by permission, to George Norton Esquire of Madras. The substance of the tale is here given in the words of the poet taken from the preface. "The following tale is founded on a circumstance pretty generally known in India, and if I mistake not, noticed by some European writers. A little before the famous Indian expeditions of Mahomed of Ghizni, the King of Kanoje celebrated the "Rajshooio Jugum," or, as I have translated it in the text, the "Feast of Victory." Almost all the contemporary Princes, being unable to resist his power, attended it, with the exception of the King of Delhi, who, being a lineal descendant of the great Pandu Princes—the heroes of the far-famed "Moha-barut" of Vyasa—refused to sanction by his presence the assumption of a dignity,—for the celebration of this Festival was an universal assertion of claims to being considered as the lord paramount over the whole country—which by right of descent belonged to his family alone. The King of Kanoje, highly incensed at this refusal, had an image of gold made to represent the absent chief. On the last day of the Feast, the King of Delhi, having, with a few chosen followers, entered the palace in disguise, carried off this image, together, as some say, with one of the Princesses Royal whose hand he had once solicited but in vain, owing to his obstinate maintenance of the rights of his ancient

house. The fair Princess, however, was retaken and sent to a solitary castle to be out of the way of her pugnacious lover, who, eventually effected her escape in the disguise of a Bhât or Indian Troubadour. The King of Kanoje never forgave this insult, and, when Mahmud invaded the Kingdom of Delhi, sternly refused to aid his Son-in-law in expelling a foe, who soon after crushed him also. I have slightly deviated from the above story in representing my heroine as sent to confinement before the celebration of the "Feast of Victory."

This beautiful little poem is the work of a Bengali youth of six and twenty. The reader therefore cannot but be struck with the author's marvellous command over the English language that every page of this poem displays. It is not the case of a Byron or a Shelley writing in his mother-tongue. It is an East Bengal lad who has given expression to his thoughts in the English language. Nothing short of a literary genius could perform that feat with anything like success. But apart from the extraordinary command over the English tongue that almost every line of these poems testifies, the thoughts themselves bear upon them the unmistakable stamp of a true-born poetical genius. It is no exaggeration to say that some of the passages of this poem are on such a high level of excellence that they might almost be compared to some of the best lines of Lord Byron or Sir Walter Scott. I therefore make no apology in quoting in this place a few passages from the second Canto.

## I.

Oh!—who can look upon the plain,  
Where sleep the glorious—mighty slain,—  
Brave hearts that for their country bled,  
And read upon their eyes tho' seal'd,  
The proud defiance there reveal'd,  
Lit by each spirit ere it fled—  
Or, mark the fierce disdain that lies,  
Upon their lips and yet defies,—  
Unquench'd by Death,—like the last ray,  
Of the set sun, still lingering there,  
As if too loth to pass away,  
But scorch and blast with lightning glare,—  
Nor feel his blood within his vein,  
Rage like the tempest-stirred main,  
As if to burst—to gush—to flow—  
And sweep away fair Freedom's foe,—

Nor madly long to wield the brand,  
 To save—defend his Native Land,—  
 Nor sigh his heart's best blood to shed,—  
 And make on glory's lap his bed !

*Canto II., p. 35.*

• II.

'We part, brave friends,—there is a clime,  
 'Beyond the rolling tide of Time,—  
 'A sweet and bright and blissful shore,  
 'Where we shall meet to part no more !—  
 'Nay—let not maiden tears bedew  
 'The warrior cheek's sterner hue :  
 'Yes—we must part, a fiery grave,  
 'Must blaze o'er him who dies no slave ?  
 'Ye know the rest—farewell ?—and now '—  
     Why came that shade upon his brow,  
     As on he hastened from his throne,  
     And vanish'd from that hall alone ?

*Canto II., p. 37.*

III.

As o'er some desert, dreary plain,—  
 Grim desolation's wide domain,  
 The silver sands' bright sun-nurs'd child,  
 So beautiful—so sweetly wild,—  
 Oft to the thirsty pilgrim's eye,  
 Displays her luring witchery,  
 And becks him on with promised bliss,  
 To cool his lips with liquid kiss,  
 Till solemnly dim twilight gray,  
 Frowns her to nothingness away,  
 And on her dupe, thus spell-betray'd  
 Doth spread a soft and dewy shade,  
 And gently fan his burning brow,  
 With balmy breath,—so welcome now,  
 And in soft, soothing accents tell  
 Of that wild witch, so bright yet fell,  
 Who, when she smil'd and seem'd to save  
 But led him to a hideous grave !  
 Thus on Life's darksome Vale the ray,  
 Of hope will falsely light the way,  
 And deck dim Future's brow afar,  
 With many a gay and light-eyed star,

Till cold Reality, as fair-brow'd Light,  
 Dispels the rain-bow dreams of Night,—  
 Unveils her face, and calls Despair,  
 To crush the vision false but fair!  
 Oh then, how cold the solitude,  
 Comes on the bosom's starry mood,—  
 How bleak, O God! 'tis then to feel,  
 There's nought above,—below,—can heal,  
 Or, even lull the bleeding breast,  
 To sweet and calm, tho' short-liv'd rest!—

*Canto II., p. 37, 58, 39.*

IV.

'Farewell!—Death's but a short-liv'd pain,  
 'I live not for a captive's chain;  
 'And now, ye gods! who love the brave  
 'Smile o'er a warrior's fiery grave!—

*Canto II., p. 51.*

V.

Fair light! lit at creation's birth  
 Bright tenant of eternity,  
 He melts not like the things of earth,  
 In fadeless glory shrin'd on high!  
 What empire's 'neath his changeless beams,  
 Have sprung, then sunk, like baseless dreams!  
 He fades not like thy works, proud man,  
 Thou creature of a measur'd span!  
 Thy pride, thy glory, and thy power,  
 Are things to him but of an hour,—  
 He on creation's birth did smile,  
 And he shall light its funeral pile,  
 When Time shall flow into the Sea,  
 Of boundless, wide Eternity!

*Canto II., p. 53.*

About his other poem, the *Visions of the Past*, it has been justly observed by another writer that it reminds one of Byron's *Dream*.

In Madras, M. M. S. Dutt "made literature the staff of life," to quote the words of the *Hindoo Patriot*. Throughout the period of his stay in that Presidency, his connection with the local press never ceased. In fact he lived chiefly by his contributions to the leading newspapers of the Province. For some time he edited the *Hindoo* which was "pre-eminent for its good English." In 1855

he was sub-editor of the *Spectator*, the only Madras daily of the time. It was no small honor for a young Bengali in those days to have earned by his journalistic writings the esteem and friendship of such distinguished men as John Bruce Norton and Henry Mead. There is no doubt whatever that as a journalist he had made for himself in that part of the country a name which has not yet been forgotten. But notwithstanding his reputation as a ripe English scholar, his undoubted talents as a poet, and the widespread fame he had acquired as a journalist of considerable ability, he shared the common lot of men who betake themselves to literature as a profession. His circumstances in Madras were anything but easy. To quote his own words, the *Captive Ladie* was "originally composed in great haste for the columns of a local journal,—The *Madras Circulator and General Chronicle*—in the midst of scenes where it required a more than ordinary effort to abstract one's thoughts from the ugly realities of life. Want and Poverty with the "battalions" of "sorrows" which they bring, have but little inspiration for their victim!"

Read also the following lines, taken from the Introduction to the poem, addressed to wife :—

" Oh ! beautiful as Inspiration, when  
 " She fills the Poet's breast, her fairy shrine,  
 " Woo'd by melodious worship ! Welcome then !  
 " Tho' ours the home of want, I ne'er repine :  
 " Art thou not there, e'en thou, a priceless gem and mine ?  
 " Life hath its dreams to beautify its scene,  
 " And sun-light for its desert ; but there be  
 " None softer in its store—of brighter sheen—  
 " Than Love—than gentle Love : and thou to me  
 " Art that sweet dream, mine own ! in glad reality  
 " Though better be the echo of the tale  
 " Of my Youth's wither'd spring, I sigh not now ;  
 " For I am as a tree, when some sweet gale  
 " Doth sweep away the sere leaves from each bough,  
 " And wake for greener charms to re-adorn its brow."

K. L. HALDAR, B.L.

## A LITTLE DRAMA.

I am a middle-aged bachelor—one of those old fellows, you know, who are useful to talk to mammas and chaperons, whilst the young ladies are enjoying themselves with their numerous admirers; and who are only tolerated by pretty women, as companions, when no better entertainers are at hand; and who are supposed to have no ideas outside of easy-chairs, whiskey 'pegs,' and good dinners.

But oh! Ye deluded people, take notice, 'that we old men are not so blind as we seem: we can see further into a stone wall, than most people, and having no domestic affairs of our own, we can devote our time to the investigation of other folks'—we see all the games, that are being played, upon the social boards. How Miss Aged is trying to 'hook' Mr. Shy! How Mr. Bully keeps his wife in torment, by his harsh words and rough ways, though with her lips the poor martyr woman calls him 'her dear husband,' and 'her kind Bill': how Mrs. Particular does not want her daughter to marry nice Mr. Piceless. Oh! Yes, we note all the little dramas, and fill up our dull, middle-aged days by watching them, discussing each scene, and perhaps helping the actors occasionally if we have a friendship for them, sometimes being thanked for our services, but more often only rewarded by the epithet of—meddling old fogey!

And we old fellows are occasionally gifted with right marvellous powers of seeing and hearing things, that do not really present themselves to our physical eyes, and strike upon our physical ear drums. These powers are given to us as a compensation for our loveless, childless existences, and perhaps we ought to be very thankful for them; though most of us would willingly lose them, if we might enjoy instead the sweets of family life—But there! There! It is no use thinking of such things, and I must hurry on and tell you of a little drama, that I watched here in Calcutta once.

My spiritual, invisible self one morning espied a pretty girl, seated in an arbor in a Ballygunge garden; and along the road

the other side of the garden wall, by the summer-house, walked two young men.

"I see you have some new neighbors, Alfred!" said one of them.

"Yes, the Dixons: I should rather like to have a lark with the taller girl, if I knew her; she looks as though she could afford one some fun. I might pretend to fall desperately in love, and all that sort of thing, don't you know?"

"Ha! ha! That *would* be a—" and then the two 'chappies' walked on, out of earshot of the arbor; and the young lady within it, who had heard the scrap of conversation, flushed indignantly, whilst her grey eyes flashed angrily.

"How dare he? The wretch!" she cried. "Just as though I were a low kind of girl, to have a 'lark' with! What perfect *cads* some men are! Oh, if I could only punish him for that speech, and cause him to rue the day he uttered it! It may be very unwomanly, but I always *do* long to make that flirting, lady-killing style of men uncomfortable and unhappy." And she ceased her angry speech, sat down again on the bench in the arbor from which she had risen in her anger, and indulged in deep meditation.

Look at her as she sits, buried in thought: a fine girl, with tall, largely-built figure; a bright face; beautiful grey eyes, and a shapely head, crowned by chestnut-brown hair, that curls and twirls all over her, in a fashion that seems well-nigh miraculous to us ignorant males.

I used to take a great interest in Maggie Dixon, for she was a little bit out of the usual style of girls, as one meets them in India; perhaps cavilling women would say, that she was in the way of becoming rather 'fast;' but however reprehensible 'fastness' may be, it is beyond dispute, that we impressionable men are more charmed by a girl, who has some *chic* and 'go,' that by one, who looks demure, sits with meekly-folded hands, speaks but when spoken to, and bears the expression as of one, who breathes always a silent prayer, that she may be delivered from the wiles of evil men. We do not like such frightened creatures, they make us feel as though we must be all really bad, to be so feared, and we 'lords of creation' object to being reminded of our inherent wickedness, and prefer rather women, who smooth us down, and pet and flatter us into the belief, that we are not such bad fellows after all, since they bestow upon us their frank friendship.

With the Dixon family, as a whole, we have not much to do. Papa Dixon was a fat and jolly old gentleman, who had

made his money by some lucky *coups* in his younger days, and was desirous of getting as much enjoyment out of life, and his wealth as he possibly could. Mrs. Dixon was an older edition of Maggie; and there was a son, Tom, who spent his time; while the family stayed in Calcutta, in dashing about the town in a showy dog-cart, flirting with the barmaids, and generally 'seeing life before he settled down'—as he used to phrase it, when we remonstrated with him on his laziness in not doing something for his living.

To complete the family circle was Nora, Maggie's younger sister and inseparable companion, a smaller and perhaps more gentle copy of the striking elder girl. And now, I daresay, you wish to know who those were, who uttered the words, that offended Maggie so deeply.

The one addressed as 'Alfred,' was Alfred Reynolds, a broker of Calcutta, who lived in a 'chummery' next to the Dixon's house, and the other was George Batchelor, his *Fidus Achates* and boon companion. For Reynolds I always cherished a supreme contempt as he was one of those despicable fellows, who pride themselves upon their good looks, and many conquests among the ladies. To see him, curled and dressed-up, stroll into any festive gathering, with a self-satisfied smile upon his conceited face, was a sight to make any honest man feel ashamed of his sex; and cause him to marvel much at the foolishness of weak women, who could be caught by such a creature, without two ideas in his head, and only his good looks, soft voice, and drooping moustache to recommend him. And yet his victims were many and varied; and I should be afraid to say the number of bosom friends, whom he has transformed into mortal enemies, by his butterfly fashion of flitting from one fair dame to another—how could Mrs. A. help feeling angry and sore with her friend Mrs. B. when she found that she had stolen from her her fascinating friend's agreeable attention? It is not in human nature!

And whilst I have been chattering thus, Maggie has been in the arbor, thinking, you must remember; let us go back to her and listen to what she softly says, as she rises to go indoors—"Ha! ha! *Mein Herr* Reynolds little thought, that the 'taller girl' was within earshot, on this side of the wall, as he walked by on the other! He shall be informed of the fact some day, if my little plot prospers. And may the Gods work in my favor, for I do want to give that creature a lesson not to talk in so contemptuous a way of ladies again. *Allons!* To make the first move." And quitting the arbor, she goes towards the house.



"Oh! Mamma," she exclaimed, running on to the verandah, where the whole family were assembled. "When I was in the arbor just now, arranging the flowers I had been picking, that nice fellow Mr. Reynolds, who lives next door, passed with a friend, and what do you think they were talking about?"

"I have not the faintest idea, my love; suppose you inform me!" answered Mrs. Dixon, smiling at her animated young daughter.

"They were talking of us, dear, and 'Alfred'—that's Mr. Reynolds' name, isn't it pretty?—said something about wishing to make our acquaintance, as we look nice. I wish Tom would go and call upon our neighbors, now that we have heard, one of them desires to know us; I am sure they are awfully jolly fellows!"

"Yes, I certainly think Tom might call upon them next Sunday," answered Mrs. Dixon. "I have always thought, since we have lived here, that our neighbors seemed as though they wished to know us; they have always, appeared to take such a deep interest in our concerns, when they have passed our house.

"And Maggie has returned the compliment! She is always chronicling their comings and goings. However, I think I might just as well go in and see them some day: 'Maggie will then be able to make 'his' acquaintance! 'Alfred' is such a pretty name, isn't it, Mag?" joked Tom.

"Hold your tongue, Tommie, you foolish boy!" responded his sister, flushing red and hurrying from the verandah, followed by a burst of laughter from the facetious Tom, who imagined, that his feeble arrow of wit had found a vulnerable spot between the links of his sister's armor of maidenly modesty. Entering her bedroom, Maggie shut the door, and throwing herself into an easy chair, indulged in a silent laugh.

"Oh! dear me!" she cried, "this is amusing! That foolish creature Tom imagines that I am, as he would vulgarly term it, 'spoons' upon Mr. Reynolds, simply because I have taken a neighborly interest in his doings, and yet—who knows? He is a very nice looking fellow, and I might have fallen in love with him, if he had made our acquaintance, and then been very attentive to me. How can a girl know what a man means by his attentions? He may mean matrimony, or he may mean amusement; and yet she has to treat him civilly which ever he intends, so that she may not gain the reputation of being stand-off' and stiff. Some radical change is truly necessary in the present style of courtship, there is too much uncertainty now. Never till the man distinctly proposes can a girl know, if he mean 'business'; for she would be

a fool to believe in all his tender speeches and ogling glances—those are but a man's stock-in-trade, that he offers to the feminine world, in payment for which he expects to gain from it the verdict of—'He's a dear, nice, charming fellow!' But what reform *can* be made? Would the Amahaggar fashion, of the women choosing their husbands, answer, I wonder, in the civilized European nations? Hardly, I am afraid! I think the old fashion of asking the parents' consent to woo a girl before laying siege to her heart was good; but it will never return. I suppose men don't look upon matrimony as so serious a matter now to be entered upon only upon receiving full permission from the high contracting parties, and don't take the trouble to think, if such and such girls would suit them as wives, ere they begin to make love to them; they propose, and marry quite by chance very often. However, fortunately I am forewarned of Mr. Reynolds' amiable intentions with regard to me, and will be able to deal with him accordingly. I must keep Tom up to the mark about calling on him!"

Which she did. The Sunday following the conversation upon the verandah, Tom paid a visit to his next door neighbors, and received a warm and hearty welcome from them.

"It would seem," said Geo. to Reynolds, when their visitor had departed. "That the Fates are in favor of your having a little fun with 'the taller girl,' if you wish it, now the brother has called, you can do ditto, and start with a fair field before you!"

"Quite so, you bet I'll call as soon as possible: and look here," said Alfred, with a self-satisfied smile upon his handsome, but conceited face, "I bet you that in less than two months I shall make that girl really in love with me; I can do it in that time if I like!"

"All right, old fellow, I take your word for it. But beware, that it is not a case of the biter bit. Miss Dixon seems a decidedly fetching style of girl, from all accounts!"

"Never fear! I'm too old a hand to be caught!" said Alfred with a laugh.

So soon as etiquette allowed, Reynolds, accompanied by Batchelor, paid his first call upon the Dixons, and was received by Maggie, who with the light of battle flashing in her large grey eyes, and her bright face flushed with excitement, looked more charming than was her wont.

"I am so pleased to make your acquaintance, Mr. Reynolds!" She greeted him, with a pretty little air of frankness. "I have thought it so absurd, that we should be such near neighbors, and yet remain strangers. I think English people ought to fraternize more in India!"

"Yes, that is quite my opinion!" replied Alfred, "and needless to say"—he went on in a lower tone, under cover of Mrs. Dixon's and Nora's entrance, "I have been most anxious to know you!"

Maggie's answer was a brilliant blush—which she seemed to have a particular faculty for calling up, when she so willed—and a toy glance from her beautiful eyes.

From the time of that call, Alfred Reynolds followed up the Dixons with untiring persistence. He took the sisters out for rides round Ballygunge, with Batchelor in attendance to engage Nora's attention; he took them for walks; he took them for drives; he constituted himself their chief aide-de-camp when at any social gathering; he was Maggie's unwearying attendant at the rink.

Needless to say such devotion did not pass without comment. Some of his friends said:—"There is poor old Reynolds caught in the toils at last!" Others again shook their heads wisely, and answered—"No, Reynolds is too sly a fellow for that, he is only going in for a very big flirtation. You see, he will transfer his devotion soon to some one else." I, of course, could have enlightened some of these chatterers, but not caring to spoil sport, I held my tongue, and looked on at the pretty little game of Reynolds' devoted attentions, and Maggie's sweet smiles.

Mrs. Dixon, I know, was much puzzled by her elder daughter's behaviour. It was not like her Maggie to surrender so quickly, as she appeared to have done to Alfred! Yet the old lady let matters drift whither the wind and tide listed, secure in the knowledge, that Mr. Reynolds would be an eligible *parti*, if her daughter decided to choose him as her life's partner. She merely gave Nora a hint, to try if possible to discover the state of her sister's feelings.

Accordingly one night, about three weeks after Alfred's first visit, Nora went into her sister's room, and with delicate persistency brought the conversation round to the 'Reynolds' subject; a topic which Maggie seemed particularly desirous of avoiding.

"I can't understand you, Maggie!" she said affectionately, "it is not like my dear old sister to be conquered so quickly, as she appears to have been, and"—with a reproachful glance—"it is not like her to have a secret from Nora!"

"My darling!" replied Maggie, looking grieved, "do not be angry with me! I have nothing that I can particularly tell you yet, believe me I will explain everything that puzzles you, at the earliest opportunity. Only have patience with me, is what I ask."

"Very well, dear, I will be patient, and tease you no more!" said the younger girl, kissing her and retiring from the room.

"I am sure mamma and Nora believe that I am in love with that fellow!" soliloquized Maggie, upon her sister's departure. "But how they mistake! It is impossible to love a man whom one heartily despises, as I do him. And yet, at times I have it in my heart to pity him, for I really believe the poor thing cares for me, as much as his shallow nature will allow. I cannot, however, refrain from repaying him for that impertinent speech—for the good of womenkind I must do it, as the more snubs men of his character receive, the rarer will they grow in the world; the fewer will there be of them to do havoc with trusting, loving women's hearts and lives!"

But was Maggie deceiving herself, when she expressed the opinion that Reynolds really loved her? No, for I heard the following conversation between Reynolds and Batchelor one day, whilst they sat upon their verandah, smoking, and enjoying iced whiskey 'pegs.'

George broke the silence that had reigned for a while by the remark—"Well, old man, you seem to be making all the running with Miss Dixon. Are you enjoying your 'lark'?"

"Oh! I say, drop that, George!" answered Reynolds, coming out of the brown study in which he had been indulging, with a long-drawn sigh, "it isn't much of a lark now, for I may tell you in confidence, that Miss Maggie is such a charming girl, that she has quite bowled me over!"

George laughed softly—"I thought it would be a case of edged tools, old chap!" he said, "and I certainly don't wonder, that you have fallen a victim to Miss Dixon's charms; but that won't much matter, if she has been 'bowled over' also; do you think she has been?"

"Ah! That's just what almost bothers the life out of me sometimes thinking about!" answered Alfred. "She certainly bestows her chief favors upon me, and seems always to prefer my company to that of any other fellow's, and yet occasionally I catch her looking at me with contempt and almost abhorrence in her gaze; that is what makes me uncertain! What does it all mean? What is your opinion?" And anxiously the young man looked to his friend, for an explanation of the mystery.

"I also have noticed the contempt to which you refer," replied George, thoughtfully, "and have been at a loss to understand it. Can she have overheard our conversation about her that morning? But no! If she had, she would have been desperately offended, and have warned her people to have nothing to do with you!"

"But, say she wants to pay me out for those words, and so feigns her deep interest in me, that in the end she may make a fool of me?" essayed Alfred, with a chance shot in the dark at the simple truth.

"Hum," said his friend consideringly. "Let us see . . . No, I don't think that theory will do, old chap, for I consider no girl could keep up the farce so consistently, as she has done. Save for a few stray scornful glances she has seemed devoted to you. No, I fancy the real root of the matter is, that she wonders why you don't say something definite to her, and feels a little contempt for your shilly-shallyings. A girl hates a fellow to go fooling round, and looking amorous and yet not fixing everything up, *pucca!*"

"If you think, George, that *that* is all she means, I will try my luck with her at the earliest opportunity; for I am awfully fond of the dear creature!"

"Chitti, Sahib," interrupted a white-robed servant just then, handing each young fellow a dainty missive, which upon investigation proved to contain an invitation, from Mrs. Dixon, to an afternoon Picnic at the Botanical Gardens.

"There is your chance, old fellow," said George, when their answers to the invitations despatched, they sat once more upon the verandah. "Could there be a more fitting or romantic spot than the Gardens for a proposal?"

"I will take advantage of it!" said Alfred, with decision.

"And I wish you all good luck, old chappie. But what a pity it is, that I did not take a bet with you, that in less than two months you would be in love with our pretty neighbor; for see how triumphantly I should have won it!" concluded George, with a laugh. Three days after the above conversation, we were all assembled at the Chandpal Ghat, whence the Dixions were to convey us by steam launch to the Gardens. Glancing amongst the gathering of people, I soon espied Maggie, looking very bright and dainty in a pale yellow dress talking gaily to Alfred—"What will be his fate to-day?" I wondered, 'will she remain obdurate in the face of his eager pleadings, or accept his hand and heart?'

When all the guests had arrived, the launch moved quietly out from shore, and, with fussy, warning whistles, started on her short passage down the river. Now passing the noble array of stately vessels lying near Princeps Ghat; now steaming rapidly past an ungainly but picturesque country boat, with brown sail outstretched; now slipping along by the grey pile of the Seebore

College, and the straggling buildings of the King of Oude's Palace; and finally slowing up by the landing place of the Gardens.

"Let us go and look at the famous Bahyan tree, Miss Dixon," said Alfred, as upon disembarking they stood irresolute which way to turn.

"Very well," answered Maggie, and away they went, leaving us all amused by the girl's ready submission to her lover's wishes—"That will be a 'case' before we return to town to-day!" one old fogey remarked to another old fogey—myself—as we stood for a moment, to watch the girl's graceful and the man's stalwart figure disappearing down the vista of the avenue of palms.

"Perhaps so," I answered with reserve. "I think Miss Dixon might easily do worse than marry him, for since he has given up his flirting, unmanly philanderings, Reynolds has much improved in character and manners. He is a very nice fellow now. Falling in love has really done him good!"

Maggie and her companion duly admired the show tree of the Gardens, with its wide-spreading branches and numerous trunks, and then strolling leisurely along shady roads, and by lily-decked ponds, they reached one of the large greenhouses. "Here is a seat, Miss Dixon, let us rest for a while," said Alfred, leading her to a green bench set beneath the shadow of a palm.

"Heigh-ho!" sighed Maggie after a pause, "I love India, it is a dear, charming, happy, old land, and I am very sorry that we are so soon to leave it."

"Leave it? Going away from Calcutta are you?" asked Alfred agitatedly.

"Yes, going right ever so far away, back to England."

"Ah! what shall I do without you?" cried Alfred, looking at her beautiful face earnestly.

"What you did without me before I suppose!"—with well-simulated forced gaiety. —

"Ah! That was different! When I did not know you, of course I could not miss you. I cannot live without you now."

Drooping her long lashes till they lay like soft dark fringes upon her fair cheeks, Maggie looked shyly confused, and her lover, emboldened by her evident confusion (which he interpreted as a sign of her concealed love) took her two small hands in his, and with tender earnestness,—“Maggie, my darling,” he said, “do not go away from me! Stay and be my loved wife. You must have seen and known how dearly I love you; will you not stay to bless me with your presence, my dear one?” and anxiously he gazed

into the calm face of the girl to whom he was pleading—"would she give him the treasure of her love?" Slowly, as his speech ended, Maggie disengaged her hands from Alfred's clasp, and rising looked at him for a moment, then with accents of scorn and contempt in her ringing tones, she repeated—

" 'I see you have some new neighbours, Alfred?' 'Yes, the Dixons: I should rather like to have a lark with the taller girl, if I knew her, she looks as though she could afford one some fun; I might pretend to fall desperately in love, and all that sort of thing, don't you know.' I should not have believed, that India held so wonderful an actor, as yourself, if experience had not taught me. Your well-acted love pleadings would alone command a ready acceptance of your services at any of the London theatres. And now that the pretty little farce is played out to its final *denouement*, tell me if you have enjoyed it?" The angry girl concluded, her grey eyes flashing a contemptuous glance upon poor, conscience-stricken, miserable Alfred.

Receiving no answer, she went on—"You did not think—did you?—that the 'taller girl' was just the other side of the wall, as you walked past that morning! It is such pure foolishness to make remarks like that anywhere, but in the privacy of your own home—think how you spoil your chance of fun by such carelessness. If I had not heard you that morning, it is quite within the limits of possibility that I might have fallen in love with you. Then how much more delicate would have been the flavor of the joke; how much more fun you would have been able to afford your friends—Mr. Bachelor, *par exemple!*—"

"Oh! hush! hush! Maggie, Miss Dixon!" cried Alfred with agitation. "How can you be so cruel? God knows, that I have greatly repented those snobish, caddish words since knowing you. I was a brute, and a contemptible cur, I acknowledge, to utter them, but does repentance go for nothing? Have you not been able to see that my love is not feigned? I admit with contrition, that when you first came to Calcutta, I was a conceited Jackanapes, who looked upon women as but born for men's amusement; but since knowing you, I have learnt to revere your sex simply because *you* are a woman, my beautiful love! Even the vilest heart, they say, is purified by love, and so has mine been. Ah! do not reject it! Forgive me for my impertinence and love me just a little! You—my Queen—cannot have been but playing with me all this time—surely just those few words cannot have made you hate me! Oh! Maggie, my darling, say you forgive me!" And fancying he perceived some signs of relenting upon

the flushing, paling face of his love, he drew nearer to her; and taking one passive hand within his clasp, looked eagerly into her eyes.

For a moment the girl left it so, then drawing it roughly away, with a harsh ringing little laugh, she said—"Admirable! Admirable! Mr. Reynolds, go upon the stage, I advise you; you will gain a topmost step upon the artistic ladder of fame. And now"—with a sweeping curtsy—"farewell, Henry Irving, in embryo; I am going to return to my friends."

"You cruel, heartless woman!" exclaimed Alfred, as she turned to leave the house. "The punishment you meet to me is much greater than my offence. You call yourself a woman, and yet can be so hard and bitter! Bah! What a mistake I made when I said that I revere your sex for your sake, you are a disgrace to it! Go! And I hope I may never speak to you again!"

And pale and agitated by his sudden scorn and the unpleasant task she had just accomplished, the girl hurried away from the greenhouse, and was soon the brilliant, lively centre of a group of laughing friends in the Flower Pavilion, where tea was to be served; whilst Alfred sat on, alone and miserable, on the bench in the summer house, brooding over his wrongs, and cursing the bitter, unwomanly hardness of the girl, who could, by her soft words and cajoling smiles, lead him on, only to reject his deep love finally with contumely and scorn. And yet what man has the right to blame Maggie for her conduct? Did she not only repay Alfred in the coin with which he had intended to reward her? Young men, in these degenerate *fin-de-siècle* days, are too fond of trifling and flirting with ladies, winning their love, and then like Lord Lovel, riding gaily away, careless if the women suffer from their departure. But if a *woman* metes the same punishment to one of their sex. Oh, what a commotion there is! No epithet is strong enough to use, as a sign of their righteous indignation! She is heartless, and a flirt, and unwomanly, and hard, and cruel, and to be shunned. Ah! There is decidedly a law for the men, and a law for the women; and though a man myself, I consider it unjust, and deem Alfred but rightly served by the courageous Maggie. It is only a pity that a few more men of his stamp do not receive rebuffs from the sex, with whom they delight to amuse themselves, for perhaps then they might in time refrain from flirting and trifling with women; and there would, in consequence, be fewer broken hearts and spoilt lives to shadow and sadden our jolly old globe.

RILDA SHERMAN.



## THE INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF INDIA.

### III.\*

THE MINING INDUSTRY OF INDIA.—Those, who are familiar with the history of mining in America and Australia—a history that has been detailed with great minuteness by Professor Leone Levi—will readily credit the assertion that mining enterprises are the least profitable and the most venturesome of the industries of the world. Gold and silver mining, even in the auriferous soil of California and New South Wales, are found to be so unattractive that the Government had to grant leases on very favorable terms to induce English capitalists to invest their money in this hazardous enterprise. The expenditure with reference to this branch of human industry ranges under numerous heads. A vast sum of money must be first laid out in costly experiments. The labour of those who would work in the poisonous and dangerous atmosphere of the depths of the mines must be adequately paid for. The ore in its natural state is found to be so much mixed up with alloy that it requires very costly processes to clean it of the adventitious substances and bring it to a pure state fit for the market. We all know that the mines of California and Australia were discovered by the happiest accidents, that by some providential turn of their steps the simple and rude peasants who first discovered them were led to those favored spots. But every well-informed man is aware also of the succession of failures that ensued when the first seekers began to turn up the soil of America and Australia for laying their hands on the precious metal. The facts in this connection have been described so graphically by those who have written on the commerce of the world that they are familiar to all students of commercial history. In India too, following the common run of events, a large amount of capital has been wasted, with no return but the experience of bitter disappointment. The goldmining craze was hottest in the southern Presidency. Sir Henry Cunningham, in his charming novel entitled *Ceruleans*, depicts with almost lifelike touches the prevailing excitement at Madras and its neighbourhood for digging in search of gold the soil within its reach which had been pronounced to be auriferous. The monied classes of every part of the benighted Presidency were for a time maddened by the thirst of gold, and thus a vast amount

of capital was recklessly wasted, bringing the most unhappy consequences in its train. But though the repeated failures in this department have not taught men to be wiser, some of these experiments were attended with a degree of mediocre success. The mining industry of India has been established by a long succession of efforts on a secure basis and deserves to be treated separately by itself. India contains vast unexplored quantities of mineral wealth, and there is no fear in her case, as seems to exist in that of the rich deposits in other parts of the world, that they would be exhausted within a measurable distance of time. From the Himalayan valleys to the reefs of Mysore and Travancore, India affords a vast field for study by naturalists skilled in practical mining, and her population is so docile that it would undertake the comparatively hard labour of the mines on a scale of wages not dreamt of in other civilized countries. The Indian mining industry is at present confined to iron, coal, salt, saltpetre, gold and other metals, such as copper, lead, tin, &c, petroleum, and numerous kinds of stones from the common *kankar* found so abundantly to the most precious diamonds.

The Iron industry of India is carried on, to a very large extent, only at Barakhar in the Manbhum district, though rich iron deposits abound in every part of the country from the extreme north of the Himalayas to the mountains near Cape Comorin. They are found in considerable extent in the valleys of Kumaon, in Chota Nagpur, and Assam. The quality of Indian iron is very fine and the only reason why imported iron from England is used to a very great extent yet in India is that Indian iron requires a very costly process to clean it and bring it to a marketable state, and is, therefore, offered at a higher price than English iron though charged with a heavy freight for transport to India. Indian iron requires that it should have an abundant supply of coal in its neighbourhood, and has to be cleared by limestone. The first iron foundry in India was established by Mr. Heath of the Madras Civil service in 1825 among the hills of the Salem district. Fuel was for the first few years abundant in its neighbourhood, and as long as it was so, the enterprise was successful, but when this essential condition was removed, the industry declined. In Mr. Heath's factory the iron and steel produced were of very good quality and long held their own in the Indian market. As we shall see later on, deposits of coal abound in Bengal and this fact promoted the establishment of an iron company on a large scale at Barakar. This company also came to grief although it was worked under exceptionally favorable conditions. But the Government

took over its management in the official year 1882-83. The iron-works are carried on a large scale and as the industry could be conducted with good natural facilities, the cast and pig iron manufactured here are of the finest in the world. The native smiths had from time immemorial conducted their business on a small scale and by processes which very well served the purpose of smelting the ore. Geologists confidently assert that near every Indian hill iron deposits abound to a greater or less extent. With the discovery of coal mines the iron industry of India might be considerably expanded. The iron and coal industries will react most beneficially upon each other and the economic effect is expected to be most satisfactory. The Government has in hand extensive projects for the expansion of the iron industry and it is to be hoped that they will bear fruits in the near future.

The branch of mining industry that is at present engaging the greatest share of attention both at the hands of the Government and of private capitalists in India is the coal industry. Coal was known to exist in India since the days of the Regulating Act, but it was not till 1820, that any regular Coal mine was established and up to 1840 that was the only Coal mine existing in India. After the construction of the great guaranteed lines of railway, in the time of Lord Dalhousie, the demand for Indian coal increased a hundred-fold and the Coal industry rapidly developed. The inland navigation company of Bengal and the numerous jute and cotton mills established in every part of the country, further intensified this demand and the Coal industry had to be systematically studied and developed. As far as at present discovered, the Madras Presidency contains no deposits of Coal and is entirely dependent on the imported Coal from England. English Coal, however, is distinctly superior in quality to Indian Coal. English Coal does not contain so large an admixture of extraneous substances, such as ash, as the sister production in this country, and is thus better fitted for smelting and locomotive uses. The Coal-fields of India have been divided by Mr. Blandford, a high authority on the subject, into four principal beds, viz., (1) the deposits of the Damodar Valley, (2) the Chutia Nagpur group, (3) the Narbadda Valley group, and (4) the Godavery Valley group. The first group comprises the many working collieries of the Ranigunj subdivision, the extensive works started by the East Indian Railway Company at Kaharbari and Srirampur. The second group has as yet been imperfectly explored. The third and fourth groups are worked principally for the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. They have extensive workings at Warora, Mohpani and Umaria, in the native

state of Rewah. In the hills of Assam also there are to be found large coal deposits. The Collieries at Makhum in the District of Lakhimpur, have been connected with the main railway lines by a light branch and they supply a heavy output. The Coal industry has thus developed into such a pitch that in the Bengal and Bombay Presidencies it has nearly driven the English Coal completely out of the market. Had it not been for the incontrovertible fact that the Indian Coal can efficiently perform only one-half and in extreme cases two-thirds of the efficient work that is performed by the same quantity of English Coal, the imported article, which again costs very little in transport to India, would be totally superseded. It is now found by experts that by a careful process 135lbs. of Warora Coal can do the work of 100lbs. of English Coal. The Collieries at Ranigunge, together with those in the neighbouring districts of Manbhum and Hazaribagh, number nearly three-fourths of a hundred, and the process of mining used is that known to experts by the technical name of "pillar and stall." It is a pleasing sign of the times that many native firms work side by side with the European capitalists in the above tract of country which is not unoften called by the name of "black country." We have often read of dangerous explosions in English mines, of the elaborate precautions that are taken against them, and of the loss of life they occasionally cause, and it is a circumstance that an Indian writer will note with pleasure that the Indian mines are entirely free from gaseous substances and can be worked at a less cost. The miners in India are chiefly drawn from the aboriginal races, and they are men who are not only able-bodied but are in such a rude state of civilization that they have but few wants below. The Sonthals who form the chief portion of the labouring population in the most active Collieries of India are extremely docile and so poor and ignorant that they are probably the best material to be found anywhere. I have read in common with all of my countrymen the exceedingly charming accounts that have been given of them by many able pens, and I was forcibly struck with the resemblance they exhibited with the native tribes of America and Australia whose simple habits in a state of nature inspired the eloquence and admiration of the most gifted writers on primitive civilization. The Coal fields of the Godavery valley are either worked by the Government or by private companies under a Government lease. They are capable of great development in the near future, and as the vast network of railways which is piercing this continent extends, the carboniferous stratum is sure to receive the greatest possible amount of attention

and schemes for their profitable working are engaging the minds of those best qualified to judge on the subject. From time to time very able articles on the Indian Coal industry appear in the leading columns of the *Pioneer*, and as they are from the pens of persons who have a supreme interest in this branch of industry, the remarks made therein are entitled to great weight. The remark is often made that the high rate of freight charged on Coal in the Indian railways is seriously hampering this industry. The railway companies plead that they have to run carriages completely empty on the return journey for the sake of carrying Coal and that, therefore, they are justified in charging a little higher premium. The writer in the *Pioneer*, however, thinks that the rates charged are nearly prohibitive, and that this view is the correct one is conclusively proved by the fact that the Government has been striving to get as much concession for the Coal Companies as possible. The Public Works Department of the Government of India has earnestly taken up this question, and Sir Charles Elliott, when in charge of that Department, undertook extensive tours to place the Coal-mining industry at Warora, Mohpani and the newly-discovered Umaria fields on a satisfactory basis. It would be interesting to watch the future of Indian Coal. Its demand is not only constant but steadily advancing, and European capital is likely to be freely engaged in the future as it has been in the past in this enterprize. The quality of Indian Coal can be improved by scientific processes and the extraneous substances done away with, if the industry is found to be sufficiently profitable to all the parties concerned.

Salt, which is an article of every-day use with every class of the Indian population, is derived from three principal sources. All along the sea-coast on both sides of the peninsula, the seawater which is largely mixed up with saline substances is evaporated by the rays of the sun and Salt is produced. The Sambhar Salt lakes at Rajputana which lie principally in the territories of the chiefs of Jeypur and Jodhpur and other smaller Salt lakes furnish Salt of a superior kind. Salt also exists as a mineral in the north-east of the Panjab where there are solid hills of Salt and where Salt is extracted by a regular mining process. The Salt monopoly, which is one of the mainstays of administration in British India, has kept the quarrying and the evaporation of Salt exclusively in the hands of the Government. The principal Salt offices are at Sambhar, Pachbhudra, Didwana and Khewra. The last mentioned place is the seat of an extensive mine which extends up to the Baunu and Kohat districts. Salt as an imported article

comes in limited quantities, the Cheshire Salt being used only in some of the districts of Eastern Bengal. I shall refrain from making any remarks on the political aspect of the Indian Salt duty. In the present case the political and economic aspects are blended together as it is a Government monopoly. The principal office of the Government Salt Department is located in Agra where many curious specimens of Salt may be seen. The present writer was professionally connected with a criminal case relating to the Department and he had thus an opportunity of knowing the details of the process by which the manufacture of Salt and its sale at the various depots are carried on but there is only the ordinary routine of Government department and nothing calls for any special mention.

Indian Saltpetre which is used in Europe for the manufacture of gunpowder is found on the Indian soil in many parts of the country. Experts can recognize its presence in the soil after a heavy fall of rain. The earth that is gathered together, when boiled in pots, yields a crude Saltpetre which by refining can be made to yield the superior article that used to be exported in such large quantities by the East India Company and since by many leading native firms. The manufacture of Saltpetre is regulated by the most stringent penalties. A special caste, called the Nuniyas, manufacture it principally, and the business is carried on chiefly in Behar and the eastern districts of the N.W. Provinces.\*

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[\* The crude Saltpetre, manufactured in the country, comes for the most part to Calcutta. Here it is refined by the processes of washing and boiling in order to make it fit for export to Europe. About a dozen firms under native management are engaged in this trade. The industry is still an infant one. But it has not escaped the Argus eyes of the fiscal Department. In refining Saltpetre, the dross that goes out is capable of being used as Salt by the lower classes and for cattle. It has, however, other uses. For the most part, goat-skins and sheepskins are protected and tanned by employing this dross technically called "*khāri*" in Calcutta. Country leather, called *Kulphi baraf*, is also manufactured with its aid. Above all, as an agricultural manure it has no equal. The stringent regulations, however, that have lately been introduced for bringing the Calcutta refiners of Saltpetre under the control of the Salt Department show the singular unwisdom of our fiscal administration. The refiners are perfectly willing to make over the *khāri* to the Government without any price. But the Government is not willing to take it. It is for compelling the refiners to destroy it at their own cost. As regards again the trades that are compelled to use the *khāri*, the fiat has gone forth that they should purchase the article after paying a duty as high as that on Salt. The result of this is that a maund of *khāri* which was formerly obtainable at annas six to eight has now to be purchased for about Rs. 3. It is almost certain that the Saltpetre refining industry will die out in a few years if the Salt Department continues to pay its kind attentions to it.—ED. N. M.]

India had been famous in ancient times as a gold-producing country. Silver does not exist within her boundaries and her currency which was and is always of Silver has been dependant upon importation. India has many streams in the north, east and south, which go by the name of golden rivers and which are explored for Gold. This is, however, a very difficult and costly business and the yield of Gold thus realized is so small that it is at best a regular hand-to-mouth business. Indian merchants had from time immemorial been content with this business and the total amount of Gold thus obtained must have been large. The reefs of Mysore and other parts of the Southern Presidency have been pronounced by the highest authorities to be capable of yielding Gold in higher proportions than those in Australia. The experiment had been going on for many years past and the Government of India, on the report of a practical mining Engineer who was summoned especially from Australia in 1879 to investigate that region scientifically, gave mining leases offering especial facilities. English capital was attracted by these promising circumstances and many companies were started. Speculation raised its head, with the result that ruin stared many individuals in the face. Experts, however, declare that the quartz reefs are highly auriferous and capable of yielding a maximum of 11 dwts. per ton, the Gold being of the quality of 20 carats. It is to be hoped that the future operations in this field will meet with better luck than they have in the past. Professor Leone Levi has described with unerring precision the causes that make gold-mining one of the least profitable of human industries. In every age the Governments owning auriferous tracts had to grant leases at exceptionally favourable rates to induce capitalists to embark in the enterprize. This aspect of the gold-mining industry will appear rather strange to minds uninitiated in the principles of economic science, but it represents nothing but the barest truth. The recent excitement in the Calcutta market about the shares of many newly-started gold-mining companies has subsided in a year, and in the heat of litigation, a full crop of which is shortly expected, the bitter effects of feverish speculation will be realized in many a home in Bengal. Experts assert with much confidence that Gold exists in very large quantities in many parts of India, and it is to be hoped that these rose-colored reports will be found to accord with facts and that operations would be carried on with greater prudence in the future.

The other metals to be found in India are copper, lead and tin. The Copper mines are all in the extreme north on the lower slopes

of the Himalayas along the whole tract of country from Darjeeling to Kumaon. They were known and worked from very old times and the yield is fairly as good and remunerative as the mines at Cornwall. The Nepalis, who are endowed by nature with a capacity for hard toil, work these mines through zigzag passages dug in the rock. The Copper ore is cleared of the adhering ingredients and smelted at or near the place where it is found. The Copper mines at Chutia Nagpur were worked by an English company for nearly ten years, but somehow or other this company was obliged to wind up in 1864. The mines in the Nellore district once yielded a good outturn, but they too have been abandoned. The Copper industry, if carried on under proper conditions, is sure to prove very remunerative as the quality of Indian Copper is of the finest and it could be brought to the market at a comparatively less cost. Lead occurs in the Punjab portion of the Himalayas, and Tin abounds in the Tenasserim division. The Chinese have from time immemorial adopted a rude process of extracting Tin. Antimony, largely used in India, is to be found in some of the Punjab states, and in the hills and deserts of Rajputana there seem to exist a large quantity of valuable deposits imperfectly known up to the present time.

All sorts of stones abound in India from the common *kankar* so largely used for metalling roads to the most precious ones. *Kankar*, when burnt, yields an inferior sort of lime which is also obtained from the shells so abundantly found in marshy tracts all over India. The Khasia Hills and the Susnia hills in the Bankura District yield an extensive quantity of lime and an unfailing supply of *kankar* for the roads of important cities. The far-famed buildings of Agra, Delhi and Jeypur are all built of marble which is found in very large quantities in Rajputana. Sandstone and granite quarries exist in the Central Provinces and in the Deccan. The marble industry is still carried on and granite and sandstone are extensively used in modern buildings all over Upper India and Rajputana. The household utensils are made of a sort of potstone which is also very plentiful. The literature of the West has given an immortal name to the Golconda gems. The sublimest of English poets, Milton, has used their name for describing the most magnificent splendour conceivable by his lofty imagination. But Golconda, which though not yielding many valuable gems itself was the seat of a thriving industry in the precious stones, is now utterly devoid of any grandeur. Inquirers who have been led by enlightened curiosity to explore this region declare that



once the neighbouring tracts on the banks of the Krishna and Godavery yielded precious gems, but this is not the case with them at the present day. The early annals of the East India Company speak a good deal of the precious gems of India. Sir William Hunter relates one instance of a stone having been found of great beauty, weight and thickness so late as 1818. But though the preceding Mahomedan conquerors had derived a revenue from this source of industry, the English rulers at this day have no territories an appreciable part of whose population is maintained by the search for diamonds. The only place where this occupation is regularly carried on is the native state of Pannah in Bundelkhand. The enterprize is too hazardous and too unremunerative in the end to attract European capital. Some gems of smaller value, such as agate and buyx, are found in the native states in the neighbourhood of Ahmedabad. They have all been classed under the head of Cornelians and are of varied and picturesque colors. The island of Ceylon is rich in gems and pearl fisheries. Those, however, carried on since the days of early Dutch enterprize off the coasts of India, have neither been very important nor very valuable. The island of Ceylon is not included within the boundaries of India, and the present writer is obliged reluctantly from withholding information with reference to this subject which in the case of Ceylon is peculiarly interesting. The alluvial soil of many of the Indian rivers yields earth for pottery that is extremely useful.

This enumeration of the Indian minerals would remain imperfect without a mention of the Petroleum wells which seem to be an inexhaustible source of wealth. This mineral substance bubbles up from the bosom of mother earth principally in the broad valleys of the Irawadi and to a lesser extent in Assam and the Punjab. The Indian Petroleum industry is yet in its infancy and has to be carried on under the supervision of experts having a practical knowledge of the subject gathered in the dominions of Canada. The wells in Burma yield a very large quantity and when properly worked and the oil is properly refined, the outpour is probably of a very good quality. The experiments carried on by the railway companies near the coal-fields of Assam and by the Government in the Rawul Pindi district of the Punjab, have also been partially successful. Petroleum is also supposed to exist in many other parts of India and it is to be hoped that the yield will be much greater in the near future than it is at present.

In writing on the mining industry of India I was very much inclined to give some geological aspects of the Indian continent

and the theories that have been started by the accepted authorities with reference to the presence of particular mineral substances in particular parts of the country. The geology of India is a most interesting subject by itself and has received a fair share of attention from the scientific world. The many hills, rocks and mountains present a delightful study which naturalists have dwelt upon with great minuteness and at considerable length. But I refrain from giving way to my inclinations on reflecting that in the many industrial histories of England, continental Europe and America, with which I have beguiled my leisure hours, the technical terms which are the delight of the specialist, are repelling to the general reader, and the scientific treatment of the natural features has been left to special works. The mineral industry of India is capable of great development. This branch of industry is intimately connected with an advance of scientific knowledge, and truly it ought to be one of the principal occupations of educated India in the near future. The present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir Charles Alfred Elliott, forcibly drew the attention of young Bengal to this subject at the last annual meeting of that Association which, under God's blessing, may one day be a great centre of progress and enlightenment, *viz.*, the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science founded by Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar. It is a fact, to be noticed with deep regret, that the high scientific training received by a few young men at the cost of the tax-payer in some of the first-rate Government institutions of the country, has been to a great extent thrown away. With the pressure of population on the soil and with new industries urgently in demand, it is to be hoped that pioneers will appear in the direction of opening up the vast mineral resources of the country. Sir Charles Elliott, whose information may be always depended upon as extremely accurate, has spoken in no uncertain tones on the subject. He expects a rich harvest if only the adequate energy is put forth. That the mineral deposits in the bosom of our country be made available for the purposes of man and thus be a source of continued peace, plenty and prosperity to hundreds and thousands of Indian homes, should be the sincere and heart-felt desire of all who have a thought to bestow on the welfare of India.

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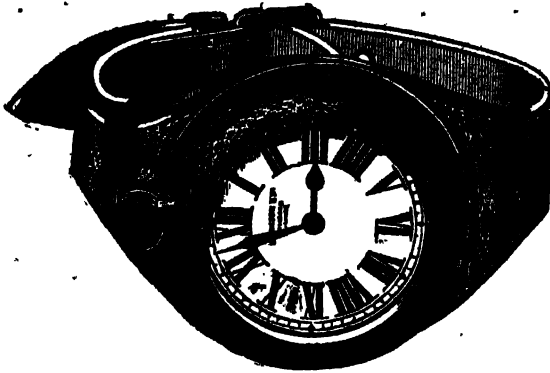
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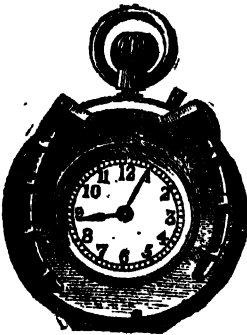
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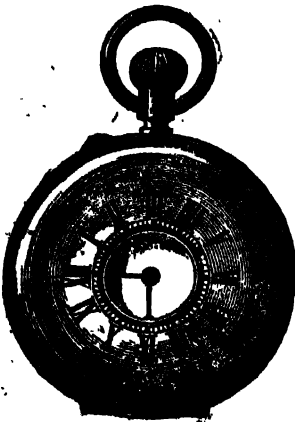
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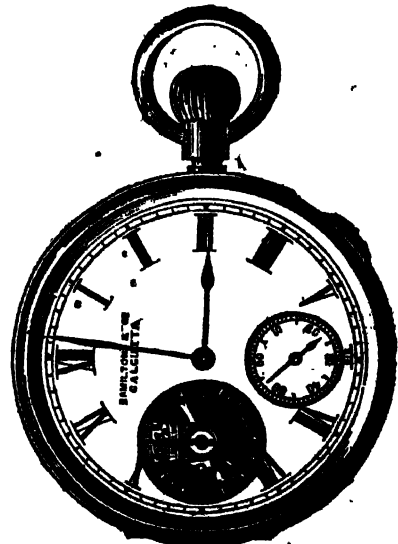
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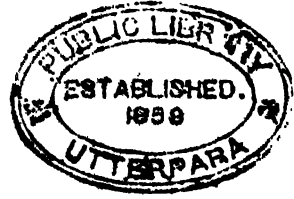
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THE  
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*RATIONALE AND PHILOSOPHY OF SOME  
DOMESTIC SOCIO-RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS  
AND USAGES AMONG THE HINDUS.*

I.

Western education has unsettled the Hindu mind in its moral and religious beliefs and prejudices. This result is as to a great extent inevitable when we consider that the Hindu religion includes History, Geography, Astronomy, Astrology and other allied sciences. English education even in the elementary schools is sufficient to convince lads and young men that the teaching of the Shastras as regards history and geography, &c., is not correct and so they grow up in unbelief and scepticism and fancy that all Hindu Socio-religious customs are meaningless and unnecessary and therefore need not be observed. The object of this paper is to shew that there is profound wisdom and deep philosophy in most of the socio-religious customs observed by the Hindus. To begin at the beginning.

*Birth and Accouchement.*—When a Hindu female is in a delicate and interesting condition she has to observe several customs and rules—their object being to keep her quiet and to prevent all accidents which might induce a miscarriage. For instance she is to avoid all violent movements and exercises and any service or work requiring great bodily exertion. A pregnant woman is required to abstain from such fruits and dishes as are

likely to bring on a miscarriage or abortion. To keep her cheerful and in good spirits the neighbours and relatives invite her to feasts on good delicacies and rice-puddings and present her with new *saris* and clothes.

*Hindu Lying-in-room.*—Modern Sanitarians and hygienists have condemned the Hindu confinement room in no measured terms. Dr. Payne, for instance, while Health officer of Calcutta, startled us by bringing to light the enormous mortality among infants and in trying to account for it laid the whole blame at the door of the Hindu lying-in-room. But we will shew that the Hindu lying-in-room was not so bad after all—It was constructed thus: a kutcha hut of straw roof with walls made of palm leaves or mat and the floor of mud about two feet high. Now it will be observed that the roof and walls are porous and therefore permit free ventilation.—so that all smoke and heated air would find easy egress. The ventilation is quite free—in fact too free and there is danger of both mother and infant catching cold and fever in consequence. This is sufficient answer to the charge that Hindu-lying-rooms are heated ovens in which infants and innocents are suffocated and murdered. The ventilation being too free and the floor being made of damp earth a fire becomes a necessity to counterbalance and neutralise the effects of chill and damp.

A fire is kept up at night and not during the day shewing that it is required to check the effects of chill and dampness of night air. We are aware that another use is made of the fire, *viz.*, to warm, dry and foment the infant and mother—but of this we shall speak further on.

We have thus shewn that defective ventilation was not the characteristic of the original Hindu lying-in-room, but rather the reverse. But we must remark that now-a-days such lying-in-rooms are rarely seen in Hindu houses!—a corruption has crept in and like all corruptions of good things it is bad. Instead of erecting a temporary shed as described above, the worst and darkest room in the house is selected, with little ventilation and a fire is kept up, though there is no damp and chill. Such a lying-in-room is to be condemned. The practice of having a fire is not to be condemned wholesale. As we have seen a fire was a necessity in the cold and damp *kutcha* hut or shed but it can be dispensed with when small and ill-ventilated *pucka* rooms are used for the purpose. The other use of fire is for warming the infant—especially its head. As Native infants are not much wrapped in flannel or linen clothes, but left more or less naked, a small fire becomes a necessity morning and evening, but never during the day.

The fifth day after birth-day is considered by the Hindus to be critical and we know that on that day the milk fever sets in—which might turn to puerperal fever—which is a dangerous complication of child-birth. And therefore a ceremony is performed on the 5th day to divert the attention of the mother—*vis.*, the paring of nails and ablution to keep off infection and ward off the dangerous fever. Over the door of the temporary shed constituting the lying-in-room the skull of a bull or cow and other curios are hung or stuck up to frighten away devils. The real object is not to frighten away any spirit but dogs and jackals which are attracted by the peculiar smell of the confinement room—as several instances are known where jackals have actually snatched away infants and devoured them. In cases where timely searches were made infants have been recovered unhurt and uninjured.

The eighth day of confinement is regarded another critical day and it is therefore necessary to cheer up the mother and maintain her spirits. A number of boys and girls collect in the evening and getting hold of an old *koola* (winnowing basket) strike it with a stick and enquire whether the child is doing well—receiving some parched corn, shells, *pic* and sweets for their good offices.

The ninth day is observed by paring the nails and a second bath or ablution. As among the ancient Jews so among the Hindus accouchment is regarded as an impurity and therefore needs purification after a period which varies from 21 days to a month. Both mother and infant have their final bath on that day and they are then allowed to leave the confinement room and to mix with the family. Certain religious ceremonies are observed, the chief purport being thanksgiving, for safe delivery and the dedication and consecration of the child to the goddess of infants, *shoshtee*.

*Nursing and training of infants and children.* Hindu mothers always nurse their children and do not shirk their duty like some unnatural women elsewhere who refuse to perform this pleasant and motherly function on insufficient and unworthy grounds. Nature has provided all mammalian animals with milk-secreting organs and their offsprings have a right to the food which has been destined for them. Hindu mothers take a pleasure in suckling infants and sometimes carry it too far. Of course where a mother is unfit from ill-health or other causes to nurse her offspring she must be excused—otherwise it is sin for a healthy mother to refuse this duty. And special doctors tell us that after child birth the best thing for a mother is to nurse her infant if she wants to avoid puerperal fever and



milk abscesses from oversecretion of milk when the breasts are not relieved by suckling. In this country infants are fed with *jhinorks* or shell of pearls provided by nature or artificially made *jhinorks* of brass and silver. The paraphernalia of feeding bottles and India-rubber tubes was unknown to our mothers—and this ignorance was a decided bliss when we bear in mind the endless trouble required in keeping the feeding bottles and pipes clean. The India rubber tube contains sulphur and this is apt to cause an offensive smell by decomposition and thereby deranging the stomach and bowels of the poor and helpless infants dependent on the bottle. Hindu matrons are very clever and skilful in treating such simple ailments as stomach-ache and loose bowels. They are further expert in treating ophthalmia neonatorum or sore eyes and redness in newborn infants—by different kinds of *surmas* when our English drops and lotions fail or do more injury than good.

In this country infants and young children are never weaned before a twelve month if not later—they are never fed on starchy food as cornflour or barley, which are simply indigestible in infant stomachs, as the salivary organs are not yet developed—I suspect in Europe and America it is the fashion to wean infants at 6 months and then to feed them on barley or cornflour with a little milk—and rickets and other infantile diseases of bad nourishment are so common there. Rickets is a disease almost unheard of in India, and why, because even the poorest families bring up children on milk and milk only.

When a child is 6 months old, the ceremony of *অন্নপানন* is observed and a feast is given and the infant is fed on rice pudding by the father or grandfather for the first time—though it does not feed on rice till it become 2 or 3 years old.

Hindu infants are smeared with mustard oil and then exposed to the sun on a piece of deal board. What flannel is to European children mustard oil is to Indian infants. Too much wrapping with flannel or clothes in India is not necessary—if not positively injurious. We often see grown up men in this country wrap themselves with woollen comforters flannel wrappers and shawls under a blazing sun. This has just the opposite effect—it makes people hoarse and gives them more disposed to catch cold and cough.

The *airing of infants*—Very young infants and children are not allowed to be taken out for airing for fear of being sickened by witches or *dynees*. The meaning of this prohibition is to avoid the exposure of young children to infectious diseases like measles, chickenpox and other children's ailments. That this is the correct

interpretation of the above prohibition is supported and confirmed by the fact that when there is a birth in a family no beggars are allowed to enter the house and ask for alms. The object being to prevent the risk of infection being imported by the agency of beggars who frequent all sorts of places and who are anything but clean in their person and clothes. This interdiction of beggars and strangers is a very sensible custom. When we consider how cholera and small-pox and other infectious diseases are spread by pilgrims and wayfarers along the routes and thorough fares taken by them we will at once see the wisdom of forbidding • beggars and strangers to a house—where there is a new born child susceptible to infection. And for the same reason the washerman is not allowed to enter the house for receiving the dirty clothes—as it is well-known that infection is often conveyed by dirty clothes and a Dhobi's house proves the focus of infection from infected houses and families to others free from them.

*Domestic medication and treatment of infants.*—When we consider that medicine was in former times more or less empirical and founded on experience we must allow that matrons and mothers who have had much experience in the rearing of infants and young children often know a great many practical things. We have already remarked that they are very expert in treating sore eyes and ophthalmia by means of different kinds of *surmas* which often prove more efficacious than our eye drops and lotions.

In *stomach-ache* and *flatulence* the old women use dry fomentation with salt and aniseeds (mowri or souff) and give milk boiled with aniseeds tied up in a piece of cloth. Prevention being better than cure our matrons and mothers give aloes and bitter stuffs to infants and children frequently—to keep the bowels open and to help digestion. Hindu boys and girls as well as men and women always have bitter herbs and dishes to neutralise the evil effects of sweets and puddings. Such a salutary habit and practice is not usual among other nations and races.

When a child is 5 years old and if a son, he has to begin his lessons on the alphabet by marking letters on the mud floor with chalk, as क, ख, &c. He is then sent to the village school or *patsala* which is held in an open shed or in the dry season under a shady and umbrageous banian or other trees—thus ensuring free ventilation. The school hours are morning and evening which is a very sensible arrangement as it does not expose the children of tender ages to the midday sun. A few girls are also seen at *patsalas* learning with the boys—so that the mixed classes to be seen in some of our advanced colleges and schools have been long

anticipated in village schools taught by rustic and ungallant *gurus*.

The *games* and *sports* for boys and girls are, so far as they go, good and give sufficient exercise to the muscles; *vis.*, *nadodo*, *charakapati*, *dandu golee*, bat and balls for boys: while girls and women engage in more gentle games and amusements, as *bagbundee*, Mongal-Pathans, and various religious *brotas* (vows) and ceremonies. Both boys and girls learn swimming—what is a very healthy and good exercise. In a Hindu house-hold the girls and women are not so idle and unhappy and discontented as missionary reports represent or misrepresent them. They talk freely and gossip as English women and all Eves daughters do, and employ themselves in most useful house-hold duties—the chief emplyment being cooking and *pan*—(beetle) making. Little girls have to learn the latter and it is said, this *pan* making consisting of different proportions of chunam (slaked lime) *kuth* (catechu) and other spices teaches them cooking. Hindu women are the best cooks of vegetable dishes and curries and if they could do nothing else—they deserve the best thanks of the men of the house—for good cooking is essential to good digestion and a good and healthy digestion leads to physical and moral well-being. Dyspepsia—the result often of bad and indifferent cooking—is the prolific source of all ills—mental and bodily—cross tempers, bad sleep, night mares, looseness and diarrhœa or constipation and a hundred other evil things too long to enumerate. English ladies might well learn a lesson in this respect from Hindu women.

Hindu women are scrupulously clean and observe this cleanliness, in their cooking and feeding arrangements. The kitchen is *lepoed* every morning and sometimes again in the afternoon, with cowdung which is regarded as a sort of rough disaffectant. The earthen cooking pots and pans are cleaned before and after use and when they become *too* old they are thrown away. This is also done in every eclipse of the sun or moon—the object being to avoid any contamination by the disturbance of the weather and atmosphere occasioned by such events. Hindus being chiefly vegetarians, their food and diet consist of rice, *dal*, vegetables fried and dished in different ways. The only animal food daily used is fish—and in a hot country like India this is very sensible, as *meat* and *flesh* are not generally well borne. The Ancient Hindus and Rishies were used to animal food including beef and pork (গেহুৰ্ণৰ্ণ অৰ্ণবৰ্ণ বনবৰ্ণৰ্ণ বনক্ক্কট) and fowls but then they lived at that time in a cold country beyond the Indus and on the heights of the Hindu Kush Mountains, and could digest such heating diet. After they

left Aryabarta (Aryin home) and crossed the Indus and migrated to the hot plain of India, they forbade the use of beef and pork on pain of excommunication from caste and religion. This fact alone proves the profound wisdom of Hindu Sages and lawgivers. They knew how to adapt themselves to the place and climate.

*Daily Baths and Ablutions.* • In a hot country a daily bath or ablution is necessary to health. The skin cannot perform its function properly if the pores are not washed and cleaned by ablution. To compel the Hindu to observe this cleanly habit a daily bath or ablution is enjoined as a part of religion, without which cooking, worshipping and saying prayers and other socio-religious ceremonies cannot be performed. It is very different in Europe when the people do not and cannot indulge in a daily bath—we read in history how in the middle ages the plague and black death and in modern times typhus and jail fever were caused by filth and want of cleanliness—due to the want of daily abolition. Cleanliness is next to godliness and if this test were applied to every race—the Hindus would carry away the palm of victory.

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## OUTLINES OF HINDU CELEBRITIES.

### PRITHIVIRAJ .

The early Aryan kingdoms flourished and decayed. Next prospered the Magadha-Raj. In the mediæval ages, rose the kingdoms of Malava, Dhara, Saurashtra, Kanauj, and Gauda or Bengal. Towards the close of the 12th century, or on the eve of the Mahomedan conquest, thrived the kingdoms of Delhi, Kanauj, Ajmir, Mewar, Anhulwara—all of them great Rajput monarchies, thus alluded to by Col. Tod:—"If the traveller had journeyed through the Courts of Europe and taken the route of Byzantium, through Ghazni, to Delhi, Kanauj, and Anhulwara, how superior in all that constitutes civilization would the Rajput princes have appeared to him!—in arts immeasurably so; in arms by no means inferior." The days of Rajput supremacy "were the days of chivalry and romance, when the assembled princes contended for the hand of the fair, who chose her own lord, and threw to the object of her choice, in full court, the *bar-mala*, or garland of marriage. Those were the days which the Rajput yet loves to talk of, when the glance of an eye weighed with a sceptre: when three things alone occupied him: his horse, his lance, and his mistress—the last being the third in his estimation: for to the two first he owed her."

No finer picture of Rajput life exists than the history of Prithiviraj, left behind by Chand, the great bardaic historian who flourished in his court. "The work of Chand," says Col Tod, "is a universal history of the period in which he wrote. In the 69 books, comprising one hundred thousand stanzas, relating to the exploits of Prithiviraj, every noble family of Rajasthan will find some record of their ancestors. It is accordingly treasured amongst the archives of each race having any pretensions to the name of Rajput. From this he can trace his martial forefathers who 'drank of the wave of battle' in the passes of Karman, when 'the cloud of war rolled from Himachal' to the plains of Hindusthan. The wars of Prithiviraj, his alliances, his numerous and powerful tributaries, their abodes and pedigrees, make the

works of Chand invaluable as historic and geographical memoranda, besides being treasures in mythology, manners, and the annals of the mind." Chand composed the *Prithiviraj rasa* about the beginning of the 12th century—it is the last great Hindu epic that holds nearly the same rank as Tasso's "Jerusalem Delivered," and Ariosto's "Orlando Furioso."

In the age of Chand, the most noted of "the thirty six royal races" of Rajasthan, were the Tuar or Tomara of Delhi, the Rahtor of Kanauj, the Chohan of Ajmir, the Grahilot or Sesodia of Mewar, the Pramara of Abu, and the Chaluk or Solanki of Anhulwara-Patun. The great central power was the Tomara of Delhi, who enjoyed an acknowledged supremacy in Hindustan. The Chohan of Ajmir paid him homage for many ages, but at last asserted his superiority. His tribe made itself the most illustrious of all the Rajput clans by capturing 1200 horses from Sabaktagin, and obliging Mahmud to relinquish the siege of Ajmir. With all my partiality," says Tod, "for those with whom I long resided, and with whose history I am best acquainted, my sense of justice compels me to assign the palm of martial intrepidity to the Chohan over all the royal races of India."

Prithiviraj had the noblest Rajput ancestry, who combined in him the blood-royal of the Chohan and Tomara dynasties. He must have been born in his paternal home at Ajmir. The date of his birth is Samvat 1211, or A.D. 1154.\* His grandfather, Visala Deva, was the great hero of his age, who, in the year 1151, "*Delhi Rajkiya, takhta baita*"—captured Delhi, and sat on its throne. In 1163, he headed a confederacy of the Hindu kings, and, chasing the descendants of Mahmud from Hindustan, made "tributary all the regions between Himavat and Vindhya." Visala Deva's memorable triumph is recorded in an inscription on one of Asoka's old pillars, which formerly stood at the foot of the Himalayas, near Khizrabad; but which is the self-same pillar that is now so conspicuous at Delhi under the name of Firoz Shah's Lat. The translation of this inscription, by Henry Colebrooke, made known its contents to the public in the first year of our century. Prithiviraj's maternal grandfather was Ananga Pal the Third, the Tomara monarch of Delhi, who lost his palm of sovereignty by measuring his strength with the Chohan king of Ajmir. But though Visala had hoisted his banners upon the Fort of Lalkot, he deemed the custom of

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\* Col Tod places it in S. 1220, or A. D. 1159. We have followed the more accurate date fixed under the light of greater researches by General Cunningham. See his Archaeological Reports.

the conqueror more honored in the breach than in the observance by leaving the venerable Tomara in possession of his throne. Further, the sting of humiliation was lessened by the marriage of his son Someswara with the Tomara's daughter. On Visala's death in 1163 A. D., Someswara succeeded to the Chohan royalty of Ajmir. He, too, was a valiant prince, to whose services his father-in-law was indebted for the preservation of his sovereignty against the attempts of Kanauj.

Ananga Pal had no male issue. He therefore adopted Prithiviraj, who was then eight years old, as his heir and successor. Ananga died in 1170 A. D., and Prithiviraj ascended the throne of Delhi. His father Someswara falling in battle in the same year, he succeeded also to the throne of Ajmir. Our hero was in his sixteenth year, when he came to the proud succession of the united sovereignty of the Chohans and Tomaras exercised from the heart of Rajputana to beyond the Indus.

As the Tomara chief, the summons of Prithiviraj were obeyed by "the princes of Mundor, Nagor, Sind, Julwat and others on its confines, Peshawar, Lahor, Kangra and its mountain chiefs. The lords of Seemar (the cold regions) and the Bhatti prince of Jessalmir also attended his call." As the Chohan chief, he had the glorious traditions of being the champion of the Hindu faith and the sworn foe of the Islamite. Prithiviraj was an over-lord who enumerated one hundred and eight great vassals, many of whom were subordinate princes."

The accession of Prithiviraj to the throne of Delhi was not only disacknowledged, but disputed, by Jayachand Chandra of Kanauj. He, too, was a maternal grandson of Anangapal, whose other daughter had been given to his father Vijaya Chandra. Jaya-Chand put forth an equal claim to the Tomara sovereignty, the result of which was an eternal rivalry between the two potent princes. Between the kingdom of Kanauj and that of Delhi, the boundary was the slender stream of Kali-nadi. Prithiviraj "claimed supremacy over all the countries westward to the Indus, embracing the lands watered by its arms, from the foot of the Himalaya,—the Desert,—to the Aravali chain. The power of Kanauj extended north to the foot of the snowy mountains; eastward to Kasi (Benares); and across the Chambal to the lands of the Chandäl (now Bundelkand); on the south its possession came in contact with Mewar."

The Chohan and Rahtor were not the only implacable foes to each other like the Montagues and Capulets of Shakespeare. In Anhulwara Patun, the Chaluk prince Bhola Bheem, "of iron frame,"

was the other great power who was also hostile to Prithiviraj. Anhulwara, the Nehrwara of D'Anville and El Edrisi the Nabian geographer, "was to India what Venice was to Europe, the entrepot of the products of both the eastern and western hemispheres." The king of Anhulwara represented the ancient Balika-races, or the dynasty of the Vallabhi princes, after the destruction of their capital by Naushirvan, in the middle of the 6th century. He was at the head of the richest, if not the most warlike, kingdom of India, whose power was owned by twenty two principalities from the Carnatic to the Himalaya. The Chaluk Rajput of Patan also sided with the Rahtor Rajput of Kanauj, and supported him in his rivalry to the Chohan-Tomara Rajput. The Purihar of Mundor likewise bore inimical feelings towards the Delhi monarch.

Of the powers friendly to him, the principal was Samarsi of Chitor. He was "a wave of iron in the path of Delhi's foe." Samarsi was nearly related to Prithiviraj by marrying his sister Pritha. This tie, together with their youthful years and equal warlike propensities, bound them to each other in intimate friendship throughout their lives. The other great ally was Pujoon, the distinguished chief of the Kutchawas of Amber, who married his second sister, and was assigned a conspicuous place of command in many of his important battles. There existed also the utmost *entente cordiale* between him and the Dahima Chief, who was his father-in-law.

The reign of Prithiviraj forms an illustrious epoch in the history of Delhi. He established himself in that old Pandava capital by taking up his residence in the Fort of Lalkot. This castle, enclosing the grounds surrounding the famous Iron Pillar, was built by his ancestor Ananga Pal the second, in 1060 A. D. The massive old fort, still in very good order in many places, is interesting to us for the light it throws on the art of Hindu fortifications in the 11th century, and for the proof it furnishes of their military genius. Comparing it with the old British stronghold near Dorchester, Lieutenant A. Harcourt, in his guide-book of Delhi, says "that the work in the Lalkot is far stronger of the two, and that the architectural skill in the British fort cannot be compared to that shown in the Lalkot, which, indeed, in the days in which it was built must have been almost impregnable. The defences, as far as we can now judge of them, must have been admirable, the advanced works being well covered by the ramparts and corner bastions."

Prithiviraja's name is associated with many a daring exploit, that tinged his life with the colors of chivalry and romance. His



first essay in arms took place shortly after his accession. It was made against Nahar Rao of Mundor, who made an abortive attempt for his independence by refusing to bestow his daughter on his young liege-lord. The affront brought on a warfare, which was decided in one of the passes of the Aravalli, and gave the first instance of that heroism by which he was pre-eminently distinguished.

The first princess married by Prithiviraj was the daughter of the Dahima Chief of Biana—a city the castle of which was built on the topmost peak of Druinadaher, resembling Siva's Kailasa. The young Dahimi princess brought in with her "a dower of eight beauteous maids and sixty three female slaves, one hundred chosen horses of the breed of Irak, two elephants and ten shields, a pallet of silver, one hundred wooden images, one hundred chariots, and one thousand pieces of gold." Her three brothers accompanied her to Delhi for employment in its court. The eldest, Kaimas, was appointed the premier; and while he headed the cabinet the affairs of Prithiviraj were at the highest prosperity. Poondir, the second, was placed at Lahor to guard the frontiers against foreign invasion. The third, Chaond Rai, received a commission in the army, at the head of which he achieved many a glorious victory.

In the height of his power, Prithiviraj undertook the celebration of the Aswamedha, a magnificent rite by which the most potent Hindu monarchs of old asserted their universal supremacy. The main features of this ceremony consisted in the selection of a spotless milk-white steed, which on liberation wandered where it willed, and offering for its master a challenge to the surrounding princes, returned, if not seized by any body, after a twelve month, when it was bled to the sun, with all the imposing effect that royalty, and wealth, and holiness combined could produce. None ventured to take up the gauntlet thrown by Prithiviraj. According to local tradition, the Negumbod-ghat is the spot where he celebrated his Aswamedha. The position of Negumbod is immediately outside the northern wall of the present city. There is held a fair, whenever the new moon falls on a Monday. It is said to be held in honor of the river Jamna, but not without a reference to the sacredness of the spot acquired from the "Hom" performed there by Prithiviraj. The stream has receded from the steps of the ghat, over which grow a few shady trees. The traveller, in coming up the Jamna-bridge, has a view of this ancient ghat on his right. The sacrifice of the steed, with a lavish distribution of money, bruited the fame of the Delhi monarch through all Hindustan.

Jaya Chandra succeeded his father Vijaya Chandra about the year 1173 A. D. Feeling himself cast into the shade by his rival, he projected the celebration of the still greater ceremony of the Rajsai Yagna, which had not been attempted by any prince since the day of the Pandavas, not even by the great Vikramaditya. It was a ceremony in which every office, down to the scullion of the banquet-hall, was to be performed by royal personages. Preparations on a scale of magnificence equal to the occasion were made by Jayachandra. He sent round invitations "to every prince, inviting him to assist at the pompous ceremony, which was to conclude with the nuptials of the Raja's only daughter,—who would select her future lord from the assembled royalty of India." It was the last *Rajsai* and the last *Swayamvara* in the history of the Hindus. Great was the splendour of the Hall of Sacrifice, in which were assembled all the princes of India excepting Samarsi and Prithiviraj, who disdained to sanction the vaunted proceedings by their presence. To make up for their absence, Jaya Chandra made their effigies in gold, and, placing them at a side entrance to the courtyard of the palace, assigned to them the meanest offices—that of porter to the Chohan-Tomara monarch. Both revenge and love stimulated the youthful Prithiviraj to one of the most famous enterprises in Rajput chivalric history—he resolved "to spoil the sacrifice and bear away the fair of Kanauj." Placing himself at the head of a chosen body of Chiefs with their retainers, he set out upon his daring exploit, and waiting near the wicket, which still remains in the ruins of Rang Mahl, for the willing Princess Sanjogta to throw her bridal garland upon his effigy, he carried her off in open day from the capital of Jayachandra—a feat, the heroism of which forms the subject of the *Kanauj Khanda* of the *Prithiviraj Rasa* of Chand. Through the long distance between Kanauj and Delhi, "a running-fight of five days took place," in which many of the assembled princes and the Raja of Kasi, one of the principal feudatories, together with the Banafar-brothers Alha and Udal, took part against him. But Prithiviraj "preserved his prize, gained immortal renown, but lost the sinews of Delhi." More than half the number of his warrior chiefs fell, among whom were Pujoon, Govind Ghelot, and the energetic brothers Hamsir and Gumber of the Hara clan. The date of this chivalrous abduction is 1175 A. D.

The beautiful Sanjogta, the Indian Helen of her age, carried off like Rukmini by Krishna, was not only remarkable for her personal charms, but formed the most perfect model of Rajput female character in her day. No sooner did Prithiviraj arrive with her at Delhi, than he abandoned himself to her influence.

The seductive charms of the enchantress lulled the monarch into a neglect of every princely duty, and in his inglorious repose he resembled Hercules after his labors at the feet of Omphale.

The history of the chivalrous Prithiviraj is a series of daring exploits. He had attained his thirtieth year, and was in the full vigor and spirit of his manhood. The report of his gallant actions set fair hearts in motion towards him—they "loved him for the dangers he had passed." Ten years after the above adventure, or about the year 1184 A. D., he engaged himself again in a similar romantic feat—the abduction of the daughter of the prince of Sameta—the record of which forms the *Mahoba Khand* of Chand. Many a stout cavalier covering his retreat were left wounded behind by Prithiviraj. Instead of showing humanity, the Chandal prince Parmal, or Paramardi Deva, assailed and put them to death in their disabled state. The imperial Chohan determined to revenge this breach of the laws of war. He had no sooner conveyed and lodged the princess in Lalkot, than mustering a fresh army he started upon the invasion of Mahoba, or modern Bundelcand. The vanguard of the Chandal forces met him at Sirswa, now in the territory of the Bundela prince of Duttea, and opposed his passage of the Pahouj. They were headed by Narsingh and Birsingh, who behaved with courage, but were unable to maintain their ground against the charge of the numerous and fierce warriors of Delhi. Both the leaders fell, their troops were cut to pieces, and Sirswa was given up to the flames. It was a serious defeat, under which Parmal "called a council, and by the advice of his queen Malun Devi demanded a truce of his adversary, on the plea of the absence of his chieftains Alha and Udal. The brother of the bard of Mahoba was the envoy, who found the invading army ready to cross the Pahouj. He presented his gifts, and adjured Prithiviraj 'as a true Rajput, not to take them at disadvantage.' The gifts were accepted, and the Chohan monarch pledged himself, albeit his warriors were eager for the fight, to grant the truce demanded." During the time the conqueror lay idly encamped, Jagnuk, the bard of Mahoba, proceeded to, and returned with the Banafar brothers from, Kanauj, whither they had retired in exile, and been received by its monarch with open arms and assignments of lands for their honourable maintenance. Alha and Udal were two famous warriors of their age, whose memory still lives in Mahoba tradition and song. Not only their father, but they themselves had done the most valuable services to their liege-lord. Compelled to leave the country for a mere trifle—the possession of a mare belonging

to Alha—the two brothers had been so much disgusted by the ungrateful conduct of their sovereign that they utterly disregarded his appeal in distress. Not until their Spartan mother Dewulde had prevailed upon them by her protestations was the object of the mission secured. Duly taking leave of the monarch of Kanauj, the brothers set out for Mahoba. “The intelligence of their approach filled the Chandal prince with joy, who advanced to embrace his defenders, and conduct them to Mahoba; while the queen Malundevi came to greet Dewulde, who with the herald bard paid homage, and returned with the queen to the city. Rich gifts were presented, gems resplendent with light. The queen sent for Alha, and extending her hands over his head, bestowed the *assisi* (blessing), as kneeling he swore his head was with Mahoba, and then waved a vessel filled with pearls over his head, which were distributed to his followers.”

Beyond the month's truce granted, seven days more had expired. His succours had arrived, but still Parmal had not taken the field. By the advice of his bard Chand, Prithiviraj sent a despatch to the Mahoba king, recapitulating the cause of the war—the murder of the wounded, and asking him either to accept the challenge for combat, or submit to vassalage. Receiving the hostile message, and, holding a council of war for final deliberation, Parmal determined upon meeting the foe. On the appointed day—“the day sacred to *Sucra* (Friday), Prithiviraj sounded the war-shell, while the drums thrice struck proclaimed the truce concluded. The standard was brought forth, around which the warriors gathered; the cup circulated, and the prospect of battle filled their souls with joy.” The Mahoba Chief led out his troops, and the encounter took place. It was a severe conflict. The Chandals fought with considerable bravery. Alha and Udal charged the Chohan ranks, carrying death on their lances. But after a long struggle, the superior skill and valour of Prithiviraj overpowered and won the battle, which ended in the reduction of Mahoba to a *nef*.

From time immemorial have “the thirty six royal races” warred with each other. It helped them to be schooled in arms, at the same time they were weakened in their political condition. Their warfare, however, was never exterminating—very often the intervention of Hymen quenched a feud, and made them friends for two generations. Though by his two great triumphs Prithiviraj had covered himself with glory, they cost him the lives of sixty four first-class vassals. But what he lost in muscle, he gained in money by “the discovery of treasure at Nagor, amounting to

seven millions of gold, the deposit of ancient days." It was on this occasion that he had for the first time to ask for aid from his brother-in-law Samarsi of Chitor. "The princes of Kanauj dreading the influence which the new sinews of war would afford and Anhulwara, their antagonist, invited Shahabudin to aid their designs of humiliating the Chohan, who in this emergency sent an embassy to Samarsi. The envoy was Chand Poondir, the vassal Chief of Lahor, and guardian of that frontier. He is conspicuous from this time to the hour when he 'planted his lance at the ford of the Ravi,' and fell in opposing the passage of Sahabudin. The presents he carried, the speech with which he greeted the Chitor prince, his reception, reply, and dismissal, are all preserved by Chand. Samarsi proceeded to Delhi; and it was arranged, as he was connected by marriage with the prince of Patun, that Prithiviraj should march against this prince, while he should oppose the army from Ghazni. He (Samarsi) accordingly fought several indecisive battles, which gave time to the Chohan to terminate the war in Guzerat and rejoin him. United, they completely discomfited the invaders. Samarsi declined any share of the discovered treasure, but permitted his chiefs to accept the gifts offered by the Chohan." The foreign enemy under allusion was Mahomed Ghorî, who had long been desirous of following a career similar to that of his Ghaznvide predecessor. In 1191 A. D. he had penetrated as far as Lahor, whence he marched to attack the Raja of Delhi—the outwork and bulwark of Indian sovereignty. The hostile armies met at Tilourî, between Thaneswara and Karhal, on the great plain where most of the contests for the possession of India have been decided. Prithiviraj, with his ally Samarsi, sent the Musulman scampering away to the tune of "Devil take the hindmost." Mahomed Ghorî was badly wounded, and barely escaped with his life. His scattered hosts were chased for 40 miles.

In choosing his maternal grand-father's capital (Delhi) for the seat of his government, Prithiviraj preferred an advantageous centre whence he could exercise his control over every part of his extensive monarchy. It was at the same time the first strong break-water against the tide of invasion rolling from beyond the Indus into the Gangetic valley. The untravelled reader may not have an accurate idea of the site of this ancient capital of Prithiviraj. He is likely to think the three different places Indraprastha, Delhi, and Shah Jehanabad as identical. But Indraprastha, founded by the Pandava brothers, the same that is now Indrapat, is situated on the Jamna, near Humayun's tomb. Shah Jehanabad, the

Mogul capital, is modern Delhi. The seat of the last Hindu monarch is situated in a rocky tract, five miles interior from the Jamna, where ruin after ruin of citadel, palace, and temple are deponents of its pristine greatness. In the days of Prithiviraj, it was a great and magnificent city that rivalled Kanauj with its 30,000 shops for the sale of betel leaf, and 60,000 families of dancers. The throne of the prince was centred in a fort within a fort—within the strong enclosure of the Lalkot surrounded by the additional walls of Rai Pithara. These last defences were erected by Prithiviraj, no doubt out of apprehension caused by the appearance of Mahomed Ghori in the field. The "lines of Rai Pithara's walls can still be distinctly traced—they have now a circuit of four miles and three furlongs," enclosing the fort of Lalkot. There were nine gates to Rai Pithara, out of which the ruins of four still exist—"the first is on the west side, and is covered by an outwork: the second is on the north side, towards Indrapat; the third is on the east side, towards Toglakabad; and the fourth is on the south-east side." Pauranic idolatry then was in its zenith, and in Prithiviraj's capital there were twenty seven conspicuous temples, "of which several hundreds of richly-carved pillars still remain to attest both the taste and the wealth of the last Hindu rulers of Delhi." The most enduring witness of ancient Delhi is the Iron Pillar, that, standing nearly in the middle of a grand square, "records its own history in a deeply cut Sanscrit inscription on its western face," and tells its age to be more than fifteen hundred years.

But the strength of position, and walls, and ally, did not avail against the weakness arising from division in the camp of the Hindu princes. They did not understand the strength of a bundle of sticks; and in their infatuation quarrelled amongst themselves only to prove unequal to weather the storm that was brewing to overtake them. Besides, from the intoxication of uninterrupted success Prithiviraj had sunk into "an unprincely inactivity which invited invasion with every presage of success." In two years, the Ghorian took the field dressed in a fresh panoply of war. This time was fought "the great Fight." The Prince of Chitor was a second time called upon "to use his buckler in defence of Delhi." His arrival was hailed as that of a deliverer. Prithiviraj and his court advanced seven miles to welcome his ally. If Prithiviraj was Chand's Achilles, Samarsi may be called his Ulysses. The Mewar king was "brave, cool, and skilful in the fight; prudent, wise, and eloquent in council; pious and decorous on all occasions; beloved by his own Chiefs, and revered by the vassals of the

Chohan." The warriors met in council to deliberate on the best mode of opposing the enemy. The Guru wrote an incantation to nullify the bad omens. "A thousand brass vessels of fresh milk were poured in libations to the sun and moon. Ten buffaloes were sacrificed to the supporters of the globe, and gifts were made to all." On the army having assembled, and all being ready to march, Prithiviraj went into the inner apartments. The fair Sanjogta armed her lord for the encounter. Their last interview was brought to a close by the *nakara's* sound, on which Prithiviraj left to head his army. The campaign was planned by Samarsi, and the march was made according to his directions. "In the line of march no augur or bard could better explain the omens, none in the field better dress the squadrons for battle, none guide his steed or use his lance with more address. His tent was the principal resort of the leaders after the march or in the intervals of battle, who were delighted by his eloquence or instructed by his knowledge."

The Islamite foe was encamped about a hundred miles north, on the western bank of the Caggar (Ghagar,) with a force of 120,000 horse. During the rains, this river forms the obstacle of a swollen and rapid stream. But in the season for campaigns in India, it was almost a dry brook affording fords at many points. The Hindu army arrived, and took up its post on the eastern bank. It may be, that Prithiviraj "sent a haughty deterrent message," to which "the Masalman general replied in moderate terms." The Moslem "mode of fighting was to charge with bodies of cavalry in succession, who either withdrew after discharging their arrows, or pressed their advantage, as circumstances might suggest. The Hindus, on the other hand, endeavoured to outflank their enemy, and close upon him on both sides, while he was busy with his attack on their centre. Their tactics were completely successful at the previous battle of Tilouri." The Ghorian Chieftain had not failed to profit by his last defeat. He trusted this time to other expedients in addition to the brunt of his arms. Pretending hesitation, he kept himself from making the least stir and movement; and, thus lulling the Hindus into a laxity of guard, "he crossed the brook which lay between them about daybreak, and fell upon them by surprise before they had any suspicion that he was in motion. But, notwithstanding the confusion which ensued, their camp was of such vast extent, that part of their troops had time to form, and afford protection to the rest, who afterwards drew up in their rear; and order being at length restored, they advanced in four lines to meet their opponents. Shahabudin,

having failed in his original design, now gave orders for a retreat, and continued to retire, keeping up a running fight, until he had drawn his enemies out of their ranks, while he was careful to preserve his own. As soon as he saw them in disorder, he charged them at the head of 12,000 chosen horse, in steel armour; and the prodigious Hindu army once shaken, like a great building, tottered to its fall, and was lost in its own ruins." It would appear from Ferishta's account, written some four hundred years afterwards, that the battle was fought and decided in some eight or ten hours. But according to Chand, who was an eye-witness, there was "three day's desperate fighting, on the last of which Samarsi was slain, together with his son Kalian, and 13,000 of his household troops and most renowned chieftains." Chand Rai, the gallant Dahima, perished with the whole chivalry of Delhi, Prithiviraj himself was taken prisoner, and put to death in cold blood. The beloved spouse of the Chitor Chief, and the idolized Sanjogta, hearing of the fatal issue to their lords, mounted the funeral pyre to join them in heaven. From the field of victory, the conqueror turned his steps to the capital. He entered it by the west gate of Rai Pithara. The assault on the Lalkot was led by Haji Baba Rose Beh, who made his entrance by the Ranjit gate. The ground inside that fortress was the scene of hard fighting between the Hindus and Patans. There, within its walls, was young Rainsi, who fell the last martyr in defence of his country, not till 5,000 Masalmans had been numbered among the dead. Then followed scenes of devastation, plunder, and massacre, that have been too often enacted in Delhi. None survived excepting the bard Chand, who remained to sing the requiem of his nation's fall, and raise to our imagination the illustrious warriors of his time. The Hindu history of that age teems with instances of as heroic courage, as great love of country, and as patriotic devotion, as we read of in Grecian or Roman history,—and yet those actors are not known beyond the boundaries of their native land. The bucklered knights and barons bold of ancient Delhi had gathered round it and sworn to defend it; but they died in redeeming their pledge. Their oaths are registered in heaven, their bodies rest in bloody graves. They have left a fame unspotted with dishonour, and their memory is cherished in songs that inspire to deeds of glory.

Prithiviraj was only thirty nine years old, out of which he reigned for twenty three years. No doubt, he stands out as a distinguished character, entitled to receive proper notice from historians. His is a traditional name which is remembered with



pride in every Rajput household, and whose memory is perpetuated in the lofty strains of an epic Muse. But a review of his life is not instructive with important political lessons. History remembers him not for high statesmanship, or noble-minded policies, or benevolent fiscal measures, or improved administrative machinery. He did not consolidate a solid and lasting empire. He did not impart any stimulus to industry and commerce. He contributed not to the intellectual and moral elevation of his people. We catch no hint of any political institution framed to secure any of these objects. We seek in vain for any benefits of a high order resulting from his rule. He governed as all Hindu monarchs governed before him, as all Hindu Princes govern to this day—on the cut and dry lines laid down by Manu, without a wish to budge out of the groove, without a thought to change of times and new necessities, and without an aim to progressive amelioration. We cannot regard him nor any Hindu sovereign as entitled to honor from this point of view. Prithiviraj is eminent only as a hero. He rests his claims on the compass of his ambition for glory, and on the possession of qualities which enabled him to become the first power of his day. From the first he was inspired with this simple imperial idea, and he lived the life of a model Rajput ruler covered with undying glory. Well may his glorious life be a study to the degenerate sons of India, who overlook the importance of vigor of body and mind in a nation. Well may that life be represented on the stage of our Calcutta theatres to educate our Bengali youths in heroism.

The times, however, of the last monarch of Delhi and the circumstances of his fall, teach one valuable political lesson. In the 12th century, North-Western India presented the stage of a gorgeous Rajput drama. Its principal scenes were laid in Delhi, Kanauj, Chitor, and Anhilwara-Patun. Great was the magnificence of the actors, great their military organization, and great their resisting power. But they presented after all an imposing superficiality. Beneath their bold front, the evil genius of India had sown the seeds of decay arising from mutual rivalry and contention. None of the monarchs had a far-reaching vision. They were soldiers, but not statesmen wise enough to bury their quarrels in opposition to a common enemy. In the fore-front, Raja Prithiviraj was the great chevalier in whom lay the hope of his nation. But he was a trifler, who wasted his energy and armies in romantic adventures,—who loved glory not wisely, but too well. Filled with unbounded self-reliance, he neglected to put his house in order. He ought to have formed himself the rally-point of all

the Hindu princes and peoples of his age. But he rendered them indifferent about his fate. It was not the want of valour or fighting-power, but the want of unanimity and confederation against the Patan avalanche of Ghazni, that paved the way to the break-up of the Hindu empire. "Had the princes of Kanauj, Patun, Dhar, and other states, joined with the Emperor of Delhi, it is doubtful whether the Islamite could ever have been the lord of Hindustan. But jealousy and revenge rendered those princes indifferent spectators of a contest, destined to overthrow them all." True it is, that the vitality of Hindu power is attested by the risings of the Mahrattas and Sikhs—that the Peshwa, Sindia, Holkar, Gaekwar and Bhonsla, together with the Sikh *missals* on both sides of the Sattlej once more revived the same condition of things in India that existed under the Rajputs in the 12th century. But it is as true also that history, repeating among them the same jealousies and dissensions, again led to the same ruin which overtook Samarsi, and Prithiviraj, and Jayachandra; and to the same annihilation of Hindu sovereignty and independence. It is the great misfortune of India that her princes take no lesson from the past, appreciate not that confederated union is a tower of invulnerable strength, and commit the repeated error of falling easy preys to an invader in single-handed fight. Discord is the great bane of the Hindu race; and its deterioration has become so threatening that in a generation or two India is most likely to be reduced to a wide-spread Zenana with all manhood extinct

AN IDLER

## THE INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF INDIA.

### IV.

THE AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY OF INDIA.—Indian agriculture and the cognate subjects admit of and demand a somewhat detailed and diversified treatment. Agriculture is the principal occupation of the Indian people at the present day. In that valuable State-paper, the Report of the Famine Commission, which embodies the result of long and patient investigation and which owes its authorship to the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, it is stated that about 72 per cent. of the Indian population is directly engaged in the tillage of the soil while about 90 per cent. is connected with the same occupation directly or indirectly. The Indian population being thus mainly dependent on agriculture, the pressure on the soil is very great, and as the former has a tendency to increase, the class of landless day-labourers is being vastly increased. Some portions of the continent of India are very thickly populated and other tracts are equally sparsely inhabited, and by a readjustment of the population, by judicious migration and emigration, the difficulties now felt, can be partially obviated. The Indian peasantry, however, are so conservative in their habits that they think it a religious virtue to stick to the spot where their forefathers lived, and they would not hear of trying their luck in a foreign country amid strangers unless some exceptionally favourable circumstances are placed before them. The Indian agriculturist has for centuries been meeting the demand for food-supply of a teeming population. His methods may not be the best according to the lights of modern science but they are the best adapted to yield a good out-turn from the Indian soil at the small outlay that it is possible for the generality of Indian agriculturists to make, and all the efforts that have been hitherto made to introduce improved methods have resulted only in tall talk and ruinous expense to the Indian taxpayer. The Indian soil differs in quality and properties in the different parts. The soil of the great river deltas in Bengal and Bombay is exceptionally fertile; the soil of the high plateaus and table-lands of the Deccan, has been especially characterized as

'black soil;' the strong soil of Rajputana, the Punjab and some parts of the North-Western Provinces, requires a careful tending to be able to yield crops. The Indian peasantry have clearly recognized their difficulties and advantages in every part of the vast continent and have set themselves to take advantage of them or to combat with them according to the methods which long experience has taught them to be the best adapted to the circumstances. Their ploughing is so steady and so long-continued that in the end they make up for their want of scientific knowledge. The system of manuring is resorted to in the case of the more valuable crops. Large tracts of country are made to yield a great produce by a system of artificial irrigation which takes the form of deep wells, of artificial dams from the hill-streams or of large tanks and reservoirs according to the nature of the country and the opportunities at the command of the peasantry. The system of fallows and of raising a rotation of crops is universally practised and land is made to produce the utmost it can by the simple methods which are alone resorted to. The Indian climate too is peculiarly suited for extracting the greatest yield from the soil. The burning rays of the sun in the summer combined with the heavy showers that follow in the rains are the best natural agencies for what are known as the *kharif* crops and the soft moisture and the light showers of the Indian winters supply the conditions for raising the *Rabi* crops. The Indian soil again can well hold its own even in comparison with the plains of the noble rivers of America, as far as natural fertility and capacity for supplying moisture in long seasons of draught are concerned. India is even at the present day producing enough for her own wants and a surplus that could be exported to the other countries whose populations need it. The conditions of Indian agriculture have been altered ever since the time when British rule in India has been consolidated and we shall see later on its economic effects and bearings. Before we go on to describe the transcendent efforts of the "Department of Indian Agriculture" which was ushered in by a high-sounding flourish of trumpets, we must first proceed to describe the rude and time-honored methods of the Indian Agriculturist.

The rice-eating population of India is roughly estimated at one-third and is distributed principally over Bengal, the strips of land on the sea-coast all round the peninsula, in British Burmah and some hill-tracts. The essential condition of rice cultivation is that the water-supply must be ample. In Bengal and Assam, the local rainfall is considered in ordinary seasons to be abundant

for the purposes of rice cultivation. In the hilly tracts, either the rainfall is copious or the water to be obtained by canals and dams from the hill rivers and fountains prove sufficient for supplying the necessary moisture. The tracts of land in the Madras Presidency which are devoted to the cultivation of rice are fortunate in getting water from the periodical and regular overflow of the rivers. In Burma too the rainfall, though not so ample, can raise one crop a year corresponding to the *Amun* crop of Bengal. When the seedlings are first springing up, about 2 inches of water are necessary for the crop to grow; but when they reach their fully-developed stage, the stems can survive heavy floods and there is one particular variety that will keep its head above twelve feet of water. The *Aus* crop of Bengal is sown generally in March or April and reaped about the months of August and September. The *Amun* crop is sown during the season of the heaviest showers, and reaped about the month of January. The former crop contains the coarser varieties and is principally needed to supply food to the great bulk of the agricultural population, while the latter crop which comprises the finer kinds requires a careful system of transplanting and furnishes food supply for the higher classes in Bengal and other parts of India. The Burmese peninsula yields a large quantity of rice which is applied both for furnishing the food-supply and for purposes of export. The rice-fields have a very fine appearance and the traveller on Indian railways is often refreshed by the sight of the green waving corn for many miles together. The commercial aspects of rice will be dealt with in a later article as well as the subject of the periodical failure of the rice crop in certain tracts which leads to great loss of lives occasionally owing either to actual starvation or the diseases that are attendant in its train.

The Wheat Question in India has drawn a good deal of attention in recent times. Wheat is grown principally in those tracts of country which are not devoted to the cultivation of rice. It is grown to some extent in many parts of the country but the chief wheat-growing tracts lie principally in the North-Western Provinces, the Punjab, Central Provinces and the Northern portion of the Bombay Presidency. The yield of wheat is very considerable and in the matter of this crop India is fast becoming the granary of the British isles. The quality of Indian wheat is very superior and the extent of its cultivation is not exceeded even by the United States of America. The wheat of the Punjab and the North-Western Provinces used to be chiefly collected at two central marts, Delhi and Cawnpur, and there taken up by European

merchants. The economic aspect of the exportation of wheat to Europe, the effect it has both on the condition of the Indian peasantry and the agricultural operations all over India will be dealt with in the article on Indian trade and commerce which will follow in due course. The Central Provinces have lately been fastly developing as a great wheat-producing province. The great mart of Dongargaon on the plateau of the Chhattisgarh district yields a quantity sufficiently able to mitigate the vigors of even a first-class Indian famine. It has been estimated by competent authorities that the whole quantity of land under wheat cultivation in the whole of the British isles is less than half the area that is devoted to the same purpose in a single Indian province. Wheat is principally sown during the rigorous months of winter and reaped towards the close of April or the first week of May. The price that Indian wheat commands in the great commercial markets of the world has been pronounced to be only a little lower than the best varieties of the Australian and Californian produce. The tract of country which lies between the Ganges and the Jumna and commonly known as the Doab has been known to produce the best varieties of Indian wheat and this tract since it has been extensively irrigated is devoted mainly to wheat cultivation. Wheat is now grown not only for supplying the food of this country but also because the cultivators find it more profitable to raise wheat rather than the inferior millets. The export duty on wheat was abolished in 1878 but opinion is yet divided as to whether it was a wise measure in the interests of India.

The majority of the Indian cultivators can hardly afford the luxury of having wheat as their food-grain. They have to raise an inferior sort of crop of the millet class called *joar* and *bajra* on which they principally subsist. The *joar* and *bajra* have been rendered intelligible to English readers by translating them into the terms of great millet and spiked millet. The *joar* and *bajra* is raised principally in the provinces which are devoted to the cultivation of wheat. The North-Western Provinces, the Punjab, Central Provinces, Sind, Rajputana and the northern portions of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies are its chief centres and it forms the principal food-staple of the generality of the population in those tracts. The *joar* and *bajra* are usually sown just after the bursting of the monsoon rains and reaped about the months of September and October. If the rainfall is late the sowings and reapings are correspondingly late, but this fact does not affect the general character of the crops. They can be raised without much difficulty, and they do not require any other moisture

but that supplied by the local rainfall of the tracts where they are grown. Under this head may also be classed the Indian corn and various kinds of pulses of which the principal are generally known under the names of gram and *dal*. The Indian corn, if not a staple of food, is largely used as an article of luxury by the poorer classes, and *dal* is invariably used as an incident of food. The upper valleys of the Jumna and the Ganges, as well of the five rivers of the Punjab, yield barley which is so largely used by the European population. European travellers in India have been struck at the simple food, *joar*, *bajra* and *dal*, of the Indian agriculturists when their capacity for hard work is taken into account. But our rulers have yet to learn that the Indian peasantry do not get even a full meal of these simple articles. Their means are too limited to allow them to live with a full stomach and their lot is probably the hardest known to humanity. The English rulers have beneficent intentions no doubt but their measures have been unfortunately so shaped as to be ill-adapted to the circumstances of the country and not calculated to advance the prosperity of the actual tillers of the soil. Before we pass on to the enumeration of the raw products which form the essential materials of the Indian industries, we should notice under one head the numerous articles which are generally used for purposes of food and are its inevitable attendants. They are the vegetables, the fruits, sugar, oil and spices. In the neighbourhood of every inhabited city or village, tracts of land are assigned exclusively for the raising of the vegetables. The vegetables are those commonly used by the Indian households for seasoning the staple food-grain. Potatoes are grown in very large quantities but they find their congenial soil only on the higher slopes of the Himalayas or the corresponding heights of the Ghats, and the mountains near Manipur. India is very rich in fruits. The best varieties of mangoe grown in Bombay and Maldah are delicious to the human palate and the tropical climate raises a variety of other fruits which are highly cherished. The jack, the plantain and the numerous varieties of figs and oranges have been classed among the best of their class. The oranges of the hilly tracts near Sylhet, and the guayas of the Southern Presidency, command a large and ready sale in all parts of the Indian continent. The *lichies* are a speciality of Bengal. They are principally grown in the low-lying lands near the Himalayan *Varai* and the efforts of the best gardeners in England to rear up the best varieties in English hot houses have hitherto been only partially successful. Macaulay remarks that the *lichies* are the only fruits of Bengal whose absence cannot but be

regretted even amidst the plenty of Covent garden. The spices that are frequently used in the preparation of the Indian dishes, are turmeric, chillies and mustard-oil. They are grown abundantly in the Southern Presidency but to a greater or less extent in all parts of the country. The spices of India are inferior in quality to those grown in the spice islands, and they are only sufficient to meet the local demand. The *pan* leaves form a creeper species that are found in every part of the country and though requiring careful tending yield very high profits. The cocoa-nut which can be grown only at the sea-coasts and as far inland as is exposed to the sea-air, the areca-nut which yields what are known as the betel-nut, and the other varieties of dates and palms which yield juice and fruits that are suited to the human taste, are inferior in quality to those found in Africa but meets the local demand for them. The oil-seeds are being raised from time immemorial to supply oil which is necessary for a variety of uses. In a tropical climate oil is freely applied to the person and serves to perform some of the functions that are served by soap in other countries. The dishes of vegetables and fish universally used require a lavish expenditure of oil, and before petroleum and candles were imported to India oil formed the only substance that was used for lighting. Oil-seeds are raised as a subsidiary crop and do not interfere with the food-grains, as they can be raised in the time that the land lies without being cultivated, as also with certain kinds of pulses.

The above enumeration exhausts the list of those articles which are generally used in India as articles of food. Before we proceed to enumerate the produce of agricultural industry that is necessary for commercial and manufacturing purposes, we should give some account of the efforts that have been made to improve Indian agriculture and the results of the costly experiments that have now been systematically carried on for a long series of years. There is no doubt that in view of the increasing population and the demands of commerce, it would be well if the food-producing capacity of the Indian soil could be multiplied tenfold at once. The scientists who have made agriculture their special study in the West declare that with an improved system of tillage this is possible. The Western thinkers advocated a careful system of deep ploughing, the storage of moisture, and the unlimited use of manure, and predicted the grandest success from this system if it is only allowed a fair trial. As John Stuart Mill pointed out while speaking of scientific agriculture, these operations can only be carried on in estates which are very large and that the outlay they require is such that small peasant proprietors can



never afford to meet it. The experiments, however, in India were started on a large scale by men who had no practical knowledge of the agricultural needs of India and have resulted in disastrous failures. The model farms that had been started throughout Upper India have been unable to show any encouraging results and the Government has been obliged to abandon them. The failure in this respect was so clear and had been placed so far beyond dispute that the apologists of the Government in the Anglo-Indian press who often go to extreme lengths, have no other course to adopt than refer to it with philosophic resignation and discourse on the general disappointment of all early seekers after truth and the frequency of mistakes in mortal man. The model farm at Madras, known as the Saidapet farm, did well for a time and was proudly pointed to as a grand success in this line but the day of reckoning came soon and as the costs occasioned by the experiments were set against the outturn, it was found that it would not do to obtain the results achieved at the cost which had been incurred in this instance. The omniscient members of the Indian Civil Service have, after these sad failures, wisely refrained from lecturing the people about their ignorance in matters of agriculture, but they have confined themselves merely to suggesting improvements in the existing system. It is found now that the Indian cultivators know their business better than the skilled scientists who were allowed to keep up heavy establishments at the cost of the Indian taxpayer. The Hester of the Indian National Congress movement, Mr. Allan O. Hume, had recorded a careful minute on the subject in his official capacity as Secretary to the Department of Agriculture, and he suggests therein that with careful tillage and improved manuring, the soil could be made to yield a considerably larger quantity than it does and the profits of cultivation can be correspondingly increased. Mr. Hume, with that instinctive sympathy for the children of the soil which was destined to become a household word in our days, recognised clearly the difficulties of the Indian cultivators. He truly says that over the greater part of India the burning rays of the sun during the months of May and June dry up every blade of green vegetation and the cattle have to be half-starved during nearly six weeks of every year. The cattle again cannot refrain from over-feeding as soon as the earth is again turned into one entire bed of fresh verdure at the commencement of the rains. Thus the average annual loss of cattle comes up to a very large number and the resources of the Indian cultivators are proportionately weakened. The want of fire-wood compels the people

to use up even the droppings of their cattle for fuel,\* and till the prejudices against using night-soil as a manure wore away, the want of manure was seriously felt. At the present day the use of night-soil as a manure is becoming general, especially in the provinces of the Punjab and Bombay, and this difficulty is being well-nigh solved. The suggestion has been made that there should be a regular system of village plantations with an undergrowth of fodder sufficient for the cattle during the six weeks of burning heat. This system should be based on that pursued in the Swiss and Belgic cantons and it would, it is asserted, solve the essential difficulties of Indian agriculture. We shall speak of this subject at some length when we come to speak of the system of state forests later on. The want of water in the dry and parched soils in many parts of India has been sought to be met from time immemorial by sinking wells, collecting water in tanks and reservoirs, and leading artificial channels from the great rivers wherever possible. The system of regular irrigation conducted by the state dates from the viceroyalty of Lord Lawrence, but although the most brilliant results were expected from it, it has now been proved as a fact beyond any doubt that these have been rather disappointing. Only those canals are found to pay which had for their basis either old Mogul works or which have been constructed under exceptionally favourable circumstances. The subject of irrigation is an important one and will be dealt with in its financial and economic aspect later on. But we believe it has now been found that the best way of irrigating the soil is by a system of wells which should be constructed by the raiyats, with favorable loans granted by the State. The first years of Indian irrigation led the public to expect that the fertility of the soil would be gradually increased under this system, but in some largely irrigated tracts this expectation has not only not been realized but the contrary effect has been experienced.† The Board of Revenue of the N. W. Provinces has issued a report detailing the condition, during the last ten years, of those districts which are the best irrigated between the Ganges and the Jumna. The results of irrigation, as evidenced by the report of the Board, ought to be carefully studied as they are directly the contrary of those

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[\* It is not want of fire-wood that compels the people of this country to use cattle-droppings as fuel. It is a matter of fact that cattle-droppings, when dried in the sun, burn as well as many kinds of fire-wood.—Ed., *N. M.*]

† Some passages, beginning with this, are taken from an article that I contributed to the editorial columns of the *Indian Mirror*.

which were predicted to follow canal irrigation. The canal-irrigated tracts exhibit a state of things hardly to be desired. The report of the Board says that eight districts in the fertile tract between the Ganges and the Jumna have been especially favored with canal irrigation, those districts being Agra, Muttra, Mainpur, Furruckabad, Etah and Etawah, comprising the Agra Division and the Districts of Allyghur and Bulundshahar in the Meerut Division. The system of canals was in full operation in these eight districts for the last ten years and the system must be considered to have had a full trial. Now the report of the Board fully shows that irrigation, which certainly had been carried out to a great extent in the tract specified, has disappointed the sanguine expectations of those who inaugurated this system with probably the best of intentions, as far as the results of agriculture are concerned, and has moreover proved according to the unbiassed testimony of the most competent observers to be a fruitful source of disease owing to the stoppage of the channels of natural drainage. The late Sanitary Commissioner of the N. W. Provinces forced upon the attention of the Government the facts that the canals have obstructed the channels of natural drainage and that malarial fevers have been spreading all over the irrigated tracts. The arguments put forward with considerable force by our distinguished countryman Raja Digambar Mitter when the question of the causes giving rise to epidemic fevers in Bengal engaged the attention of the Government, and the experience of every part of the country uniformly support this theory. It is well known that the tracts of country watered by the Ganges and the Jumna canals are as parched as any to be found in India, and when the responsible medical authorities declare that drainage has been interfered with in these tracts we can well imagine how much this should be the case in Lower Bengal where there is already an excess of moisture and where malarial diseases prevail to a considerable extent. But we might have kept this aspect of the question, serious as it is, in the background if the results of irrigation had proved that the agricultural produce was being considerably increased in the long run, but the report is sadly disappointing in the results that it narrates in this particular direction. The reports of the Collectors of the districts above-named all tell a miserable tale. The Census Report of 1881, as well as the last one, distinctly shows a sad decrease of population, and the revenue-roll continually points in the same direction. In 1881 the decrease of population was owing to temporary and accidental causes, of which the long and severe drought of 1877-78 was the chief one. But

that after a fairly prosperous decade the population should decrease by about a quarter of a million is a serious aspect of the economic problem. The districts were all in their usual condition. No special cause contributed to the depression of agriculture. The canals distributed water broadcast and they were kept so full at all seasons of the year that the rivers were almost drained dry. And yet the Collectors of these districts all declare that the produce of their respective districts is sadly decreasing, and that the fertility of the land is going down. The Collectors of the districts of Agra and Muttra had early in 1889 brought to the notice of the Government the fact that the area of uncultivated land which had been left useless by irrigation at high pressure was largely on the increase and that this land was full of swine who destroy the crops on more favourable lands. The state of things had become so serious that Sir Auckland Colvin was obliged to take measures for stopping this crying evil and the Government of the North-West Provinces was obliged to put up iron fencings on the most improved American model to keep the swine out of the British frontier which in the districts of Agra and Muttra are contiguous to those of the feudatory states. As in my professional journeys to and from Rajputana these iron fencings met my eyes, I could not but think that it was a sad commentary on the boasted results of irrigation which were announced with such a flourish of trumpets two decades back not only by irresponsible theorists but by responsible heads of departments in India. The system of irrigation that had been resorted to in India by making land yield in the first years more than it used to do, has been found by practical experience to injure irreparably its productive capacity. This fact is incontestably proved by the testimony of officials of the department, who in the discharge of their revenue duties are compelled to make the most damaging admissions. Our rulers ought to take this state of things into serious consideration. When in addition to their well-known financial results the canals are found to fail in their very first and primary functions, and the prosperity they bring on the land is proved conclusively to be only illusory, the whole question of canal administration should be carefully considered. It is, indeed, with great pain that the public have perused the results of irrigation in the land of the two waters.

### A COINCIDENCE IN FOLK-LORE.

Human thought always runs in parallel grooves among different nations. An idea which may be found in the literature of one nation is sure to be found distinguished in a quite different garb in the literature of another. The ideas are always the same though the forms of expression in which they are couched differ among different races of men. The so-called "parallel passages," coincidences in folk-lore and myth, and the parallel proverbs are so many instances of the above-mentioned truth. The Chinese scholar who thought he had made a great discovery when he found a particular idea embodied in one of Lord Tennyson's poems, expressed in a different form in a Chinese poem published some hundreds of years ago, had no good reason to be jubilant over his "find." Any person who is versed in any two different literatures may hit upon similar discoveries. The parallelism between the Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa and the English bard Shakespeare is remarkable. Of course, in this case the similarity cannot be ascribed to literary plagiarism which takes place only in the cases of authors who belong to the same nation, speak the same language and are contemporaneous with each other. It is somewhat strange that an author who writes in a comparatively modern language could have hit upon an idea which was expressed by another author some hundreds of years ago in an oriental language, and with whom the former could not have had any sort of acquaintance. Hence anthropologists have laid it down as a cardinal principle that the whole family of mankind originally emanated from one common source and spoke some now-forgotten common language, and were actuated by the same thoughts and ideas, of which the above quoted similarities in manners, customs, myths, superstitions, proverbs, sayings, turns of expression, metaphors, folk-lore, &c, &c, are relics which have escaped the revages of time.

Mr. Andrew Lang, in his work entitled "*Custom and Myth*" has adduced several examples of this similarity. For instance the myth about the world having been deluged by a great inundation exists in slightly modified forms among different races

of men and has its counterpart among the Hindus in the tradition of the world having been saved from a deluge by Vishnu who assumed the form of a boar for the purpose. The superstition about some nocturnal bird which by its cries forebodes death and misfortune has been traced to many nations and survives in the "Devil-bird" of Ceylon, the "*Bhākur*" of Behar and the "*Kāṭ-pencha*" of Bengal. The Rev. C. Swynnerton has described, at page 98 of the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1885, a coincidence between an Italian folk-tale of the 15th century and a Punjab story narrated in his work on *Rājā Rasalu and other Punjab legends*." The story is to the following effect. Once upon a time a great flood took place and carried away many men, women and cattle in its irresistible course. A person who lost his wife in it began to search for her corpse and, instead of going down the course of the river, went up its stream. People who saw him cried out: "What a fool you are, thus to go about searching for the corpse of your wife up the course of the river! You should search for her down its course as water does not run uphill." The man replied: "No my friends, I am perfectly right in searching for her up the course of the river. During her life-time, my wife always acted contrary to what I would tell her to do. I am afraid, my wife, even in her death, has acted contrary to the usual course of things and, instead of being washed down the current, must have gone up the course of the river. So I am searching for her up the stream." This story has its counterpart in a slightly modified form in the Italian story mentioned above. It is curious how the Italian folk-tale could have travelled to the Punjab. Reynard, the fox of German folk-lore, appears even in Hottentot fairy-tales collected by Bishop Bleck of Capetown. It is needless to multiply examples. I shall narrate the following Hindi folk-tale which is current in Sāran and, may be, in the other districts of Behar.

#### THE STORY OF THE BULBUL AND THE VINES.

Once upon a time a man had a *vineyard*, full of vines in full fruit. Every day he watched it but found that many of the grapes were destroyed by a *bulbul*. He took many precautions but they were unavailing and the bulbul still continued to commit depredations in the vineyard. At last he laid a snare and managed to entrap the bird in it. He was about to kill the bird when it exclaimed "Pray, do not kill me. I will teach you some philosophical truths of the highest importance, only if you would set me free." The man asked, "What are those truths?" The bird replied, "*Do not*

*regret for what is past ; do not try to get what cannot be attained ; do not believe what is impossible.*" The man, being satisfied with the lessons and taking compassion upon the bird, let it escape. The bird flew away and, sitting upon a tree close by, exclaimed: "What a fool you are to set me free! You do not know what I have got in my stomach." The man asked, "What have you got within you?" The bulbul replied, "I have got *three rubies, as big as hen's eggs*, within me. Had you killed me, you would have become the fortunate owner of them." The man, being thus tempted, began to coax the bird and invited it to come down to him and promised to feed him with the finest grapes to be had in his vineyard. The bulbul cried out laughingly and said, "What a fool you are to forget so soon the lessons I taught you. I told you not to regret for what is past and you are still repenting for having set me free. I told you not to try to get that which cannot be attained and you are still trying to get hold of me again, now that I am free once more. I told you not to believe that which is impossible and still you are under the impression that there are *three big rubies* inside my stomach. What a fool you are to believe that such a small body as mine can contain three big rubies. You are a big fool and you should try to act up to the maxims I taught you in a better way in the future." So saying the bird flew away.

Curiously enough, the following parallel story appears in an American Journal entitled "*The Rural New-Yorker*" of October 3rd 1891, page 711.

### THREE MOTTOES: A LESSON LOST.

In Harper's Young People, Dr. Abram S. Isaacs tells the story of a man who possessed such a lovely garden that it was his greatest pleasure to watch its growth, as leaf and flower and tree daily seemed to unfold to brighter bloom. One morning, as he was taking his usual stroll through the well-kept paths, he was surprised to find that many of the blossoms were picked to pieces. It was not long before he traced the mischief to a little bird, which he managed to capture and was about to kill, when it exclaimed:—

"Please do not kill me. I am only a wee tiny bird. My flesh is too little to satisfy you. Set me free, and I shall teach you something that will be of much use to you."

"I would like to put an end to you," replied the man, "for you are spoiling my garden; but as I am always glad to learn something useful, I shall set you free." And he opened his hand to give the bird more air.

There are 4 Jails, the total number of prisoners admitted were 294 or 159 convicts, 6 civil prisoners and 129 under-trial prisoners. Terms of imprisonment were small, 7 years being the utmost in one case only and that of culpable homicide. Jail discipline is good and prisoners are well attended to in regard to food and medical relief.

There are 19 schools and 624 students as compared with 16 schools and 465 students previously.

The Establishment of a High School at Agartala affiliated to the Calcutta University proves a great boon to the State ; and the necessity for going to Comilla and other places for higher education is now a matter of the past.

Four charitable dispensaries in the State afford relief to the sick. 98·7 per cent. of the cases treated were cured, and the percentage that died is nil. New roads and Buildings are being constructed. The road between Sonamura and Udaipur a distance of 18 miles is in progress will when completed materially improve the condition of the country and induce an influx of population.

A Building for His Highness' use at Ola Agartala has been taken in hand.

Military and miscellaneous arrangements are satisfactory.

In short the State is flourishing under the present management, improvements are rife, and we wish the Maharajah success, and congratulate him on having such an able, reliable and trustworthy minister as Roy Uma Kanta Das Bahadoor.



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*HISTORY OF INDIAN INFANTICIDE.*

II.

During the first years of British rule in India, our administrators were too much occupied with discharging the duties of statesmanship thrust upon a company of merchants by a series of the most unexpected events, and with managing the internecine struggles that cropped up continuously, to attend to the religious social customs of the country, or to their duty of aiding the intellectual and moral advancement of the people. The first official document on the subject of female infanticide that we find, is a report addressed by Mr. Jonathan Duncan of the Civil Service to the Marquis of Cornwallis in 1789. Mr. Duncan was then Resident at Benares and had been able to find out that the practice of female infanticide was particularly prevalent among a Rajput tribe in that district named the Rajcoomers claiming descent from Prithviraj the last Chohan Prince of Delhi. His suspicions were first roused by the fact of his having received information that while there were hundreds of young boys in the villages occupied by this particular tribe there was not a single girl. That able officer, who like many old Civilians mixed freely with the people, took up the inquiry privately and managed to draw out the secret from some important members of the tribe. In his despatch to Lord Cornwallis he says that the practice of female infanticide was deeply rooted among the Rajcoomers, and a cognate

tribe in Oudh called the Raghuvansies. He expressed the opinion that the practice was neither of recent origin nor of rare occurrence, and he said, following an important note drawn up by Mr. Jacob Bryant that it had been alluded to even in those books of the Greek and Roman historians in which they said anything at all about India. He felt it his duty, as an officer of the Government, to bring it to the notice of the Governor-General, although it was sanctioned by time-honored custom. The first President of that learned body, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, addressing his fellow-labourers in that field and all men who made Oriental research their special business, made a long apology, in 1794, for introducing to their notice the subject of female infanticide. That accomplished Oriental scholar was apprehensive that his audience would have considerable doubts and incredulity on the subject. Sir John Shore then proceeded to quote the discovery—for to the European rulers it was nothing short of that—made by Mr. Duncan and how by the most unequivocal admissions of the leaders of the Rajcoomer tribe the existence of the foul practice was placed beyond all dispute. Mr. Duncan at once set himself to organise a plan for effectually suppressing the enormity. He found the Rajcoomers an intelligent tribe and amenable to reason. He summoned their leaders to his presence and impressed upon them how horrible the practice was and on what a false foundation the supposed necessity for it rested. The average native of India, whatever his inner convictions, never fails to cry ditto to the pronounced views of any person who might for the time being be in authority over him. The arguments of Mr. Duncan, sound as they were, might or might not have convinced the Rajcoomers, but at his instance they entered into a covenant on the spot binding themselves solemnly to abjure the practice. The promise was broken before the ink with which it was written became dry. Mr. Duncan's presence at Benares, however, made the Rajcoomers more clever and diplomatic in their communications on the subject, and though the practice of female infanticide raged as fiercely as ever, it was carried on in such a manner as to evade the eye of authority. The removal of Mr. Duncan from the Benares Residency to the honourable office of Governor of Bombay, in 1793, made the above tribe scatter the covenant to the four winds of heaven. Mr. Duncan, in his new and enlarged sphere, had his attention directed to this favorite work at once. He found the practice rife in Gujrat and Kattywar, and prominently among a tribe known as the Jarejahs, a Rajput tribe that claimed descent from the Yadava clan of ancient times and owed

allegiance to the Gaekwar of Baroda. The Jarejahs were, according to their own allegations, the highest of the Rajput tribes, but Colonel Tod and Sir Alfred Lyall say that the Sesodia, Rahtore and Chohan clans of the Rajputs decline all intercourse with them on the ground that they had at one time been converted into Mahomedanism and had since then relapsed into Hinduism. As a matter of course, the Jarejahs found some difficulty in marrying their female children and were satisfied with taking the daughters of inferior castes and classes for wives. In Major Alexander Walker, the Resident of the Court at Baroda, Mr. Duncan found a most willing and able co-adjutor, and although they had too much to do in the way of political and diplomatic business when the newly-formed French Republic was casting a longing eye on the Indian Empire, and when the proud and wily Maharattas were still rearing their head in open defiance of the British power in the Western Presidency, they resolved to carry on their humane labours with tact and firmness. Major Walker at once addressed an important communication on the subject to the chief Jarejah leaders and princes in Kattywar and Gujrat. The replies that he received were most disappointing. These are given in full in that interesting book "Hindoo Infanticide" by Edward Moore and also in "Infanticide in Western India" by Mr. Wilson. It is not necessary to give their full text here but the replies were characteristic. The Rao of Bhooj, and Futteh Mahommed whose influence was great over the Jarejahs and who as a Mahomedan could be expected to range himself on the side of humanity, both expressly prohibited the British Government from interfering in this matter, as it was a time-honored custom with the Jarejahs and as they would not, even at the bidding of the Paramount Power, renounce a custom which was 4,900 years old. The Thakore Sahib of Murvi and his royal mother politely told the British Resident that his request was inadmissible, and that the Jarejahs could never rear up their daughters. But this result, though it would have quenched less ardent spirits, only stimulated the Governor of Bombay and the Resident at Baroda to make still more strenuous efforts. They made repeated appeals to the said Rajput tribe and at length succeeded in making the principal Jarejah chiefs enter into an agreement to the effect that their girls would be preserved. For the enforcement of this covenant they required a strict registration of births in the suspected families and tried to reward by marks of official favor those who could restrain their daughter-slaying propensities. The effect was very good in the course of a few years. Bishop Heber records that previous to Colonel Walker's departure from Gujrat, troops of

Jarejah girls might be found playing in the neighbourhood of every considerable village. The success of these endeavours arrested the attention of the Court of Directors and His Royal Majesty George III, and Colonel Walker was given the important charge of the island of St. Helena at a critical period of its history. His successor at the Baroda Court, Captain Carnac, carried on his work in this sphere with equal zeal and in 1811 he insisted on the infliction of a fine of Rs. 5,000 on the Jam of Naonagger for having broken the Covenant of 1809. The example made of this powerful prince had a very salutary effect in the whole province of Kattywar and Gujrat, and many girls were preserved. But in the first flush of success, while loud peans of praise were being sung in England for these philanthropic labours, all active work was neglected and the practice revived with its old frequency. The registration of births in the suspected families was neglected and the transgressors were so many that it was neither politic nor advisable to visit them with the terrors of the penal law. Efforts were revived and the Rao of Murvi, who had shown a special fidelity to his promise by preserving in his own family the lives of two daughters, was selected for special favor. Captain Carnac recommended that the marriage expenses of these two daughters should be defrayed from the public treasury, but the Court of Directors did not desire to create such a precedent, and a dress of honour, a costly shawl, and some other articles were presented to the Rao of Murvi as marks of royal favour. The internal troubles in Cutch soon afforded a favourable opportunity to the British political officers to enforce their views in this direction. It was made an article of the treaty entered into by the two high contracting powers in October 13th, 1819, that the Jarejahs, high or low, should preserve their daughters. Thus, through fear of the consequences of a breach of faith with the British Government, many Jarejah girls were preserved. The Western Presidency soon passed under the administration of Mountstuart Elphinstone, one of the noblest of those statesmen who have toiled for the welfare of this country and to whom England is indebted for the adoption of her beneficent policy for the amelioration and regeneration of his native fellow-subjects. That friend of the native people at once perceived that the repressive measures that had till then been adopted would produce inadequate and unsatisfactory results. He devised a system of persuasive measures and pecuniary rewards which he thought would be much more effectual. The Court of Directors, in sanctioning in 1821 the system of pecu-

niary bounties as reward for preserving the lives of the female infants, expressed the sound opinion that these while lessening the incentive for slaying daughters among the races that actually practised it, might induce other tribes innocent of the practice to resort to it for establishing similar claims on the public fund. Though the measure was thus a two-edged sword, the Court of Directors sanctioned it as a temporary expedient and as an experiment. Mr. Elphinstone formed the nucleus of the 'infanticide fund' by authorizing Captain Barnewell in 1821 to throw all fines levied into a separate fund which might be used in rewarding those who might bring up their daughters. Mr. Elphinstone found an able lieutenant in Mr. Willoughby of the Bombay Civil Service, afterwards a distinguished member of the Court of Directors. The infanticide fund came into existence both in the territories of the Governor of Bombay and in those of His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda in 1825. This fund was applied, at the discretion of the authorities, to rewarding, either by remission of tribute, by pecuniary presents, or by postponing the payment of tribute to suit their convenience, all those who practically renounced the custom. The measures for the suppression of infanticide as fully developed under Mr. Willoughby in Western India may be classed under the following heads. (1) A census was taken showing exactly the number of males and females existing in each of the suspected Jarejah tribes. The difficulty of carrying out a measure like this would be fully appreciated when we recollect how much opposition was made to a census even in 1871 and 1881 by the common people through ignorance and misapprehension of the real motives of the Government. (2) Every marriage, betrothal, or birth in any one of the suspected families was to be brought to the notice of the authorities. This was to be furnished by officers appointed by Government as well as by the chiefs and leaders of the clans themselves. (3) A proclamation was issued commanding the Rajput tribes to stipulate distinctly on the occasion of the marriages of their daughters that the female children should be preserved. The Government also signified its intention of expressing its approval or disapproval, by such means as were open to it, of the conduct of those who would enter into a covenant for renouncing infanticide. A special officer, deputed to take charge of this branch, was to submit a half-yearly report of his proceedings and the Government would then judge of the success or failure of its measures. The operations were, taken in hand with great earnestness and an influential Thakoor, the chief of the principality of Rajkote, was made to pay a fine

of twelve thousand rupees for an act amounting to a violation of the above agreement. Another Thakoor, who was a petty chief, was also actually placed in irons for the period of one year. The tribes realized that the covenant was a reality and not a mere piece of waste paper. These measures were rigorously enforced till in 1849, the Bombay Government officially acknowledged that as the proportion of males and females among the children was nearly equal and as the number of female children was gradually increasing from year to year, the practice of female infanticide must be nearly extinct. These measures, as Mr. Willoughby remarked when about to retire from the Indian Service in 1851, invaded too much the sanctity of Rajput domestic privacy and they were at first thought to be too harsh and too likely to outrage the feelings of the whole community. But the natural feeling of parental affection was a powerful ally of the Government, and the Rajput races early recognized that the Government had stood forth as the champion of humanity. The Rajput tribes of Cutch, like their brethren in the dominions of the Gaekwar, were subjected to the same measures. There was another tribe in the Western Presidency known as the *Koombhees* who lived between Ahmedabad and Broach. They killed their daughters for a singularly gross motive. Their young men were to get a large dowry each in case of their marrying out of their own tribe and they killed their female infants to be sure of money-presents on the occasion of marriage of any of their young men. The coercive measures adopted proved sufficient in their case as well. In connection with the subject of infanticide in Western India we should mention the services rendered in their younger days by Sir Henry Pottinger, who won a lasting reputation in connection with the Chinese War, and Sir Alexander Burnes, who was one of those for the shedding of whose blood by treachery the Afghans had to pay dearly in 1842 when the British flag waved for some months on the ramparts of Bala Hissar.

Malwa is geographically connected with the Western Presidency. Sir John Malcolm in 1821 reported that the female infanticide was unknown among the poorer classes, that only Rajput Sirdars who were men of small fortunes resorted to it from the supposed difficulty of getting suitable matches for their daughters. In the neighbouring province of Rajputana, the original home of the proud martial race known as the Rajputs and the classic land of Hindustan, the shocking usage was practised to a frightful extent. Mr. Launcelot Wilkinson was the first man to draw attention to this subject by officially reporting that he had learnt

in conversation with an intelligent Rajput chief that twenty thousand female infants were annually sacrificed in Malwa and Rajputana. Those who were in official authority in Rajputana were able to draw forth the confession that the extravagant marriage expenditure was at the root of female infanticide. They found out that the Bhats and Charans, by their rapacity, considerably swelled the expenses on such occasions, and their first business was to attempt to cut this down and reduce their profits within reasonable limits. They got the principal Rajput chiefs and nobles to enter into an agreement to allow nobody within their territories to spend more than one-tenth of a year's income for the marriage of a daughter and this agreement was very strictly enforced. Thus the burden on the shoulders of the father of a daughter sensibly diminished and daughters were reared up and not destroyed wholesale. The Mairs who inhabited Mairwarrah near Ajmere, killed their daughters from a rather singular motive. Their young men had to pay large marriage portions to be able to take girls in marriage and the latter had very high prices fixed upon them. Thus the contingency arose that the girls might in many cases remain unmarried from the unlikelihood of any one paying the price demanded. The contingency of a girl's remaining unmarried is a much-dreaded one among the Hindus and the Mair fathers preferred killing their daughters to incurring the risk of having an unmarried daughter. Colonel Hall was in official authority over the district of the Mairs in 1827. He tried to strike a death-blow to the system by inducing them to convene a general Council and enforcing through it a modified system of marriage presents. The measures adopted in Rajputana did not bear fruit till a rather long period. Captain Ludlow enforced them in Jaipur and this State was the first to make an advance in this direction. The Rajput races had always tried to emancipate themselves from the extremely galling expenses on marriage occasions; and the movement to cut down this expenditure and thus remove the most important motive for murdering female children, found a good deal of moral support from popular feeling on the subject.

Since the transfer of Mr. Duncan to Bombay, the subject of female infanticide had been comparatively neglected in the Bengal Presidency. The great wars with which the names of Wellesley, Lake, and Ochterlony, are connected and which resulted in the British flag being extended to the banks of the Sutlej, left the English administrators but little leisure to turn their attention towards domestic reform. The revival of systematic efforts in this direction was due to Mr. Thomason, who in 1836 when Magistrate



and Collector of Azimghur, undertook preventive measures among the Rajcoomer and cognate tribes, in his district. He found unquestionable evidence of the existence of the custom during his tours in the district and he adopted both coercive and educational measures for its suppression. He employed special chaprasis, midwives and chowkidars to report to him about the birth and condition of every female infant born in the suspected families, the three acting as correctives to each other. Then he tried to approach the headmen of the tribe through his native officials and impressed on them the enormity of the practice they so frequently indulged in. Mr. Thomason kept the suppression of the above practice always uppermost in his mind and, as Lieutenant-Governor of the N. W. Provinces, he devoted a good deal of time and attention to this subject. In his capacity as Magistrate of Azimgarh he had a very willing co-adjutor in his Tahsildar. On his recommendation both were rewarded by the Government. Mr. Robert Montgomery afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab was Mr. Thomason's Assistant at Azimgarh and he was thus fired early with an ardent desire to continue those humane labours. As Magistrate and Collector of Allahabad in 1839 he not only adopted all the measures narrated above, but found that his vigilance was frustrated by sending women at an advanced stage of gestation to the neighbouring native state of Rewah. The women after a time returned with children or without any according as male or female children were born. At the instance of Mr. Montgomery the Government brought this subject to the notice of the Rajah of Rewah and secured his active co-operation. Owing to these measures he was able to report that a great many female children were now being brought up where previously there were few or almost none. Mr. Montgomery brought to the notice of the Government the assistance he had derived in this matter from the exertions of one Taboo Singh, who was rewarded with the sum of Rupees five hundred. The efficacy of the efforts of Mr. Montgomery would appear from the remark made by Mr. H. W. Court who was Magistrate of Allahabad just before the outbreak of the Mutiny, *viz.*, that when Mr. Montgomery undertook the measures female children were unknown and there was at that time close upon a hundred from fourteen years downwards. We have exceeded our limits and will reserve for a future number an account of the philanthropic labours in the districts of Mainpuri and Agra in this direction. The infanticidal races of the Punjab will be dealt with in that paper.

S. C. MUKERJI.

*THE INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF INDIA.*

## V.

In our last article we have dwelt upon some aspects of irrigation in India, and we must now proceed to give a full account of the steps that had been taken from the earliest times for irrigating large tracts of the country and of the famines which they were meant to avert. The rainfall has been known to fail in certain parts of the country during even the time of the Hindu sovereigns and there are many allusions to this natural phenomenon in the most ancient products of Sanskrit literature. It is not our present purpose to dwell at any length on the favorite theory of the Sanskrit literary world that a good year of plenty and prosperity depended on the virtues of the sovereign, but the very fact that there was occasionally a deficiency of rainfall shows that the climatic conditions of India have not changed from those of the earliest period of which we have any reliable record. Irrigation, it seems, had been resorted to from the earliest times. We can very well presume that the Hindu race, which had shown such a high engineering capacity in the matter of buildings, artificial tanks and reservoirs, should show an early appreciation of the benefits of artificial water-channels. From the earliest periods of the Mahomedan rule, state irrigation had been resorted to in a large scale. The traveller to Delhi has remarked the beautiful aqueducts passing through the length and breadth of the city and furnishing water, at the very door of its inhabitants. Mahomedan rule had its firmest strongholds in the Punjab and the strip of land lying on the Jumna down to the city of Agra. Within this limited area, the artificial water-channels were many. Many of them have been renovated into some of the most important and paying canals of the present day, and the ruins of many others are yet traceable. Mahomedan rule did not fully penetrate the high tablelands of the Deccan nor the alternate system of hills and valleys of Central India and the Central Provinces. In the delta of Lower Bengal the moisture has always been so abundant that artificial irrigation has never been considered

necessary. The Orissa famine of 1866 pointedly drew the attention of the authorities in India to the question of irrigation, and Lord Lawrence devised a system of canals to pass through the entire length and breadth of the country. The terrible ravages of that famine were but inadequately combated with and it is, indeed, affecting to hear, from those who remember the times, of the crowds of human beings who, in the utmost misery and destitution, daily poured into the metropolis of the British Empire begging for subsistence. I was only born in that year and cannot speak with any knowledge derived from my own experience, but I have heard older men descanting on the awful miseries of this particular famine. The English public, although it had refused to assist the starving wretches in the East, at last bestirred itself vigorously for enquiring into the causes of Indian famines. An expensive system of irrigation was then devised. I have, in my Indian History of our own times, dwelt at some length on the controversy that fiercely raged even in the Council Chamber of the Government of India as to the agency by which the canals were to be constructed, *i.e.*, whether they should be purely State concerns or whether they should be constructed by private enterprize under a system of encouragement from the State I shall not recur to that subject here. But it should be stated in an Industrial History of India that past experience reveals the sad result that the English capitalist would not invest a farthing in Indian public works without a Government guarantee. All students of Political Economy know very well that vast sums of English capital are annually squandered away in fraudulent and worthless transactions. Mr. Fawcett showed that English capitalists generally invest money in countries whose political situation makes investment not the safest, but it is strange that Indian public Works should not receive the slightest aid from English Capital except under the condition of the Government guaranteeing a good rate of interest. During the years that Sir Evelyn Baring was the financial member of the Government of India, some progress was made in this direction. Himself a scion of one of the first business-houses in Europe, he impressed upon his brother capitalists the fact that Indian investments were as safe as continental ones. It is to him that we owe the accession of the famous Rothschilds to the guild of Indian enterprize. But the English Chambers of Commerce, while they never fail to lecture every Viceroy on the unlimited extension of Railways in India, themselves propose such conditions that the Government of India feels compelled to decline the proposals. At the opening of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway,

in February 1890, Lord Lansdowne gave expression to this blunt and unwelcome truth in almost so many words. Under these circumstances it is not at all surprising that the view of making the canals an exclusive department of the State prevailed in the end. The Indian Public Works Department has accordingly taken upon itself the financial responsibility of excavating and working the canals in every part of the empire.

There is one particular part of India where the climatic conditions had always been such that perennial water-channels were a necessity. The arid tracts of Sind had always been without a copious rainfall and depended for their fertility only on the floods of the Indus. The mighty volume of water carried down by the Indus to the sea always overflows its banks in the rainy season, and spreads fertility over a large tract of country. The floods of the Indus are a prominent feature of the physical geography of India and we have often heard them compared with the floods of the Nile. These, in the far-famed land of the pyramids, have been described with equal intensity of feeling both by Eastern and Western writers. How many beautiful verses in Arabian poetry vividly describe these annual phenomena, and how often are they ascribed to a beneficent Providence in the sweet poems of the bards who adorned the Courts of Delhi and Agra. But the floods of the Indus are often uncontrollable torrents and do very great harm. Mr. Blandford gives a graphic description of one occasion when the Indus rose carrying death and devastation before its muddy waters. The rulers of Sind had from ancient times constructed canals to have the waters of the Indus distributed over the dry plains of the country. Some of these canals were regular sources of water-supply all round the year, and others were simply useful in carrying off the surplus waters of the Indus in times of inundation. Sind is a part of the Bombay Presidency and the transition to the subject of irrigation in that Presidency would not be an unnatural one. In Bombay the long and narrow strip of land between the Ghats and the sea requires no irrigation whatever as rice can be grown only with the aid of the local rainfall. The interior, however, of the Presidency which meets the eye of the traveller as he passes over the Great Indian Peninsular Railway or the Southern Maharatta Railway, is less fortunate in this respect. The provinces of Gujrat and Bombay proper draw their supply from tanks and reservoirs. The hill valleys, which rejoice in copious rainfall and perpetual water, are turned into a sort of artificial reservoir and numerous channels of considerable length distribute this water. The damming of the heads

of hill valleys is a work that is principally done by the State, but artificial tanks and reservoirs have been constructed to a considerable extent by private enterprise. The irrigation works in Bombay were undertaken by the Government at a very recent date and many of the grander schemes have yet to be completed. In the Punjab the old native works known as the Western Jumna Canal and the Eastern Jumna Canal have been renovated and some other works have been constructed. The latter are principally the Bari Doab Canal and the Sirhind Canal as well as the inundation Channels of the Sutlej. In the North-Western Provinces the best irrigated tract is that which lies between the Ganges and the Jumna, and where the soil except on the river-banks is very parched. The irrigation in the Doab has been carried on, on a comprehensive scale, and its results in the early days were nothing but beneficial. It served to make famines and scarcity a preventible occurrence and it introduced the more valuable crops whose rearing necessitates a copious supply of moisture. The Ganges Canal which takes its rise just below Rurki and joins the Ganges again near Cawnpur, the Agra Canal which irrigates the districts between Delhi and Agra, the Lower Ganges Canal and the Eastern Jumna Canals, are the principal sources of irrigation in the N. W. Provinces. The smaller works are the Rohilkhand and Bijnor Canals, the Betwa Canal, the Dun Canals, and the works in Bundelkhand. In Oudh the rainfall is ample and the greater part of the province abounds in marshy tracts which yield a sufficient supply of water. It has been justly remarked that irrigation is rather a luxury in the greater part of the Bengal provinces, and that in the broad valleys of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra where the rivers carry down large and powerful volumes of water, the question of embankment is a more pressing one than the question of irrigation. The vast expanse of the river deltas is protected by an extensive and expensive system of embankments, the breach of any one of which is attended with terrible loss of life and property. The embankments, no doubt, raise the beds of the rivers a little higher and the flood-waters, if permitted to scatter themselves broadcast, increase the fertility of the soil. It is an almost annual phenomenon in the Lower deltas of the Ganges and Brahmaputra for them and their tributaries to overflow their banks. The embankments which restrain them to their natural channels have to be raised higher and higher every year, as the bed of the river goes up. But in particular localities in the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, irrigation has to be resorted to in a large scale. The Orissa canals which all take their rise from the Mahanadi are scarcely

necessary in the average seasons, but they might, coupled with the easy means of transport now at our command, prevent a recurrence of the horrors of 1866-7. The Orissa canals are largely used for the purposes of navigation, and includes a canal from Uluberia (south of Calcutta) to Midnapur where the steamers with passengers and cargoes run regularly. The Behar system of canals irrigates a tract of land with physical features almost the same as those in the N. W. Provinces and often irrigates a good portion of the congested districts of Behar, even in ordinary years. They take their rise principally from the rivers Sone and Gandak and run through wide areas in numerous channels many of which the traveller by the E. I. Railway has crossed. The Madras system of irrigation is confined chiefly to the process of tanks and reservoirs which in some cases cover many square miles of ground and which have been resorted to from time immemorial by the native cultivators. The waters of the Gadavari, the Krishna and the Kaveri, are also diverted by throwing anicuts across those rivers and some private companies with guarantees from the State have also undertaken the task of utilizing the river-waters among the confused system of hills and valleys with which the Presidency abounds. The Government spends a large amount annually in the maintenance and repairs of the old native tanks and reservoirs, which are now mostly the property of the State. In the minor provinces irrigation has not been resorted to on any comprehensive scale. In the Central provinces it remains still in the hands of the private capitalists. In Burma, the works classed under irrigation, are nothing more or less than embankments. In Mysore the English rulers while it was in their charge constructed a regular system of wells, anicuts and channels. The irrigated area in all the provinces together come up to about one-fourth or one-third of the total area of cultivation. It is a well-known fact that the Indian canals, except where they are the renewals of old native works or where they had been constructed under exceptionally favorable circumstances, are very unremunerative works. The Committee of Indian Public Works that sat in the House of Commons in 1878-9 under the Presidency of Lord George Hamilton, came to the above conclusion, and although Indian officialdom scarcely lose an opportunity of presenting a rose-coloured report, the above results will not be disputed even at the present day. Many of the Indian canals do not even pay their working expenses. The interest on the capital expended on them falls as a burden on the Indian tax-payer. When we couple with this state of things the fact that the assessments on the Indian irrigated areas

are principally left to that class of subordinate officials whose character is so well-known, we can well imagine how the generality of Indian economists consider the canals to be of a very questionable advantage. The able journalist of the present generation, the late Babu Kristodas Paul, had written from time to time some sound articles on the subject in the columns of the *Hindu Patriot*. He took a gloomy view of irrigation in India. The character of the subordinate staff available for the purposes of assessment needs no description. It is so in all civilized countries but in India where the people have long been accustomed to oppression and the underhand means of settling with those that are in power, the facilities afforded for abuse of authority are unfortunately too many. Even John Stuart Mill, in one of the ablest chapters of his political economy, regrets the fact that the subordinate staff available for the purpose of assessments of direct taxation is too corrupt and too prone to take advantage of their own opportunities. These remarks apply with tenfold force in India. Sir Auckland Colvin while a young man wrote a very able minute on the assessments of land revenue in the united provinces. That accomplished writer and statesman depicted in the most graphic colors the disadvantages of having a corrupt subordinate staff for the purposes of assessment. The loud and vehement protests against the income-tax are based chiefly on the character of the subordinate assessing staff. The complaints with reference to the assessments of irrigation rates sometimes are repeated so loudly by the press that even the Indian Governments and administrations are obliged to pay heed to them. The remarkable instances of oppression, with reference to the Sone canals brought to light during the administration of Sir Stuart Bayley, have probably not yet been forgotten by the Indian public. The Government has, indeed, no conception of the amount of rascality that is often practised in the matter of these assessments. Shaikh Saadi has a beautiful story on the point. It happened once, writes that great Persian poet-moralist, that the king of a certain country had ordered all the camels in his dominions to be seized and impressed for the service of the State. A fox on hearing this order took to his legs and fled away from the limits of the said territories. When the latter animal was asked as to why he had fled away on hearing the above order which did not relate to foxes at all, he replied that the fox looked very much like the young of a camel and the king's officers would certainly have arrested him and then released him on the payment of a *douceur*. Those who have like, the present writer, actually watched the work-

ing of the income-tax or the assessments of irrigation rates in an Indian district, where as a matter of course the executive is all-powerful, cannot refrain from feeling sympathy with the condition of the helpless rayyets oppressed by men dressed in brief authority for their own purposes. The Indian official, notwithstanding his high pretensions, knows but very little of the actual working of the administrative machinery or of the inner life of the people. He never likes a man of real independence of character, and the persons who are his favorites are always ready to fall in with his own views and caprices. Thus the Indian Government is, through ignorance of the real facts, led to commit grave faults of both omission and commission sometimes even with the most beneficent intentions. There never was a country where the actual administrators should have greater confidence on independent gentlemen of education and culture who unfortunately happen to be the eyesore of officialdom in India. If they be consulted they would be able to give valuable information with reference to the assessment of irrigation rates which the Government should profit by.

The famines have been a regular recurring feature in the economic condition of India from a long time past. The population of India is so dense and the periodical disasters, whether they take the form of a deficient rainfall or of a destruction of crops by floods or locusts, are so oft-recurring that scarcity and famines must be considered as a regularly recurring phenomenon. The first great famine under English rule occurred in 1769-70 when one-third of the population of Bengal, it is said, was swept away. The English Government was then in too disorganized a state and too much of a commercial character to think of adopting any measure to avert the dire calamity that depopulated the land. History tells us that there were severe famines in the Carnatic, and in other parts of the Madras Presidency in the years 1783 and 1792. The drought was a prolonged one and the population was only relieved by the supply from some big granaries that were timely opened. The famine in the North-west Provinces in 1838 ranks next, and there was a large number of deaths in consequence. The Government and the Christian Missionaries did something to relieve the distress, but their efforts were not appreciable. In 1860-61 there was again a famine in Upper India when the State first recognized the duty of feeding its starving subjects. The Orissa famine of 1866 found the authorities quite unprepared to meet the calamity and a terrible loss of life was the consequence. The Behar famine of 1873-74 was met by Lord Northbrook on an unprecedentedly large scale. His Lord-



ship supervised the arrangements in person and his efforts seconded by Sir Richard Temple and Sir Stuart Bayley. The expenditure incurred amounted to 6½ millions sterling, and a large sum of money was contributed by the native chiefs and by the rich men of England. The operations were carried on with some extravagance. In the next famine which occurred in 1876-8 the efforts of the Government were at first very limited in their extent. Lord Lytton was then the Viceroy and Sir John Strachey was practically the head of the Indian administration. Sir John, who is probably the only Indian official who can claim the credit of having done more mischief to India than any other member of the Indian Civil Service, at first refused to recognize any distress although pointed out in emphatic appeals by His Grace the Duke of Buckingham. He afterwards sanctioned a scale of food which was hardly sufficient to keep body and soul together. Lord Lytton, who was holding the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi while the starving wretches were dying by thousands in the jungles of the Deccan, was compelled by the force of public opinion in India and in England to assume the command of the Famine Campaign in person and from that moment everything went on well. This was, however, done too late and the death-roll was returned at an enormous figure. During the same years there was a prolonged drought in Upper India, and the Local Government at first quietly looked on. When spurred by the vigorous writings of the Anglo-native press, it adopted measures that were totally inadequate to the extent of the calamity. There has been no widespread scarcity since 1878 to deserve the rank of a first-class famine. The famine policy of the Imperial Government comes within the scope of the general history of India and I have dwelt on the subject at considerable length in my "Indian History of our own Times." The famine policy adopted by Lord Lytton and Sir John Strachey during the early days of the Madras and the North-West famines of 1877-78 will ever remain a reproach to the humanity of the nation which claims the credit of having enfranchised Negro slaves at an enormous expense. The rapid completion of arterial lines of Indian railways, the convenient means of transport, and the irrigation that is now carried on to the extent of one-fourth of the cultivated area, are relied on in official reports as being the chief engines for combating against famines in every part of India. The Government of India, in the heat of the excited sympathy for the famine-stricken people levied a new tax and gave a promise to constitute it as a separate fund for the sole purpose of being

constituted as an insurance against famines. Lord Lytton and Sir John Stachey gave the most solemn promises to set apart the proceeds of this fund "religiously" for famine expenditure, and yet within a year we find it swamped in the general revenues of the empire and all sorts of special pleadings and excuses were urged for this step. Among the finely-turned sentences that heralded the birth of the new tax there were some expressions of Sir John Strachey, which escaped notice at the time, but which were now relied on as furnishing ground for appropriating the proceeds of this taxation for the general needs of the Empire. The famine Insurance Fund came to be used to make up the deficit caused by the sop to Manchester by the remission of the Cotton duties and for meeting the expenses of the Afghan war—a war which Mr. Gladstone did not hesitate to characterise as iniquitous. We have thought it proper to enter at length into the question of famines and irrigation because these are intimately connected with the Agricultural industry of India. In the next chapter we shall proceed to give an enumeration of those raw products of Indian Agriculture that are used for purposes of trade and commerce and for manufactures in and out of India.

SARAT CH. MUKERJI.

*SIR CHARLES ELLIOTT.*

## THE ADMINISTRATION OF BENGAL.

Stress has been laid in the preceding Chapter on the difficulty of forming a just estimate of contemporary events. All human actions are, though we seldom recognize the fact, links in a chain of causation stretching through unnumbered ages. The true value, therefore, of isolated facts cannot be appraised until time shall have displayed their ultimate consequences. Our judgment, too, is apt to be distorted by passion or prejudice, disturbing the attitude of calm scrutiny which the historian must adopt if his work is to be aught save a nine days' wonder. "We may blush to think," writes Lord Mahon, "that even those years which, on looking back, are universally admitted most prosperous and those actions now considered irreproachable were not free at the time from most loud and angry complaints. How much has prosperity been felt, but how little acknowledged! How sure a road to popularity has it always been to tell us that we are the most wretched and ill-used people on the face of the earth! To such an extent, in fact, have these outcries proceeded that a very acute observer has founded a new theory on them; and, far from viewing them as evidence of suffering, considers them as one of the proofs and tokens of good government." It is only natural that the policy of an ardent reformer—of one who is not content that a thing should be done well, if it can be done better, should excite acrimonious and unreasoning criticism; and that the aspirations which prompt it, should be persistently misunderstood. A recapitulation of the chief measures which have characterized Sir Charles Elliott's brief career as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, may serve to correct misapprehensions and pave the way for the future annalist.

Among the drawbacks of our executive system, is the fact that offices which make the heaviest demands on the bodily and mental vigour often devolve on men who are long past their prime. Hence the dread of responsibility, the laxity and the want of backbone which have again and again led to disaster during the past

decade. No part of India stood in greater need of a reformer than this fair province of Bengal, when, in December 1890, Sir Charles Elliott was called on to guide her destinies. His exhaustless energy and self-reliance led him to take nothing for granted and to place the most venerable institutions on their trial. This apparent oblivion of the labours of former travellers on well-beaten paths, and of the fact, as true in our day, as in Horace's that many strong men lived before Agamemnon, are characteristics perchance better-suited to the government of a brand-new colony than of a province where intense conservatism underlies an apparent assimilation of western ideas. But no one who knows him, will deny that he has sufficient patience to listen to the views of others, and sufficient candour to give them their due weight.

Recognizing the fact that sound finance is the mainspring of good government, Sir Charles Elliott's most strenuous efforts have been directed to increasing the scanty resources which imperial exigencies, real or supposed, place at his disposal. The quinquennial revision of the financial relations between the supreme and the provincial governments took place during the current year. The Lieutenant-Governor seized the opportunity thus afforded of expressing his views on this point with no uncertain voice. Full justice was done by the Government of India to the efficiency with which the revenues of Bengal had been administered during the term of the expiring contract. The income from civil services had expanded from Rx. 3,410,000 to Rx. 3,610,000; that from railways from Rx. 2,200,000 to Rx. 2,975,000. But it proposed to sweep a portion of a prospective increment which might be as much as Rx. 190,000 annually into the imperial coffers. The Bengal Government was deprived of control over the Tirhut State Railway, and of all income derivable therefrom: and the project of imperializing that main source of our provincial revenue—the Eastern Bengal Railway system, was also mooted. Sir Charles Elliott, who is blessed in an eminent degree with the courage of his opinions, protested strongly against any further curtailment of the revenues. The period to which the contracts were restricted was, he argued, too short; for the consequences of good finance or of the reverse cannot be fully developed in five years. Better far it would be, to declare the whole revenue of Bengal provincial and levy certain fixed percentages for imperial needs, than make each period of revision a signal for more exorbitant demands. The Government of India is nought but a vast spending department. Incalculable sums are flung into the abyss of frontier defence: while, owing to the apathy with which the glaring defects in our

monetary system are regarded, we see the volume of home charges constantly swelling. Unproductive expenditure must be controlled with jealous care ; or in other words, the credit side of the imperial budget should be stationary, or at least, slowly progressive. On the other hand there are no limits to the benefits which would flow from a policy of real decentralization in finance. Bengal labours under climatic disadvantages such as no other tract of the like area endures. Vast systems of drainage are urgently needed if the central and eastern districts are to be anything but a hot-bed of disease. Roads, feeder railway-lines, water-supply, medical relief—such are a few out of many pressing wants. All might be supplied in a decade or two if the government had but the power of granting adequate assistance by way of loans or subsidies to local bodies charged with the construction of works of public utility. The same fearless eagerness to stand up for the right was exemplified in a protest against that fanaticism which deems the revenues of India and the health of countless millions as nought compared with a passion for notoriety and hysterical sentiment. In answer to that baneful influence commonly known as “Exeter Hall” he pointed out that the increase in our revenue for opium consumed in India had been barely eight per cent in ten years—not more than was proportionate to the growth of population in consuming districts. He urged that the closure of licensed shops for the sale of opium would certainly drive men to lose their health and money in illicit dens. He put in a good word for a much-abused and misunderstood drug by asserting, that it enables its votaries to do heavy tasks at a minimum cost of tissue, and is reputed to be a prophylactic of malaria in the steamy swamps of Lower Bengal. Ever eager to develop the resources at his disposal, the Lieutenant-Governor directed that the manufacture of salt by Government agency should be resumed in districts on the Bay of Bengal, where its cost is hardly a sixth of that entailed by the produce of Cheshire. Of equal importance with sound finance is a good judicial and police system. Here, too, Sir Charles Elliott’s ceaseless activity has found a useful outlet. The working of the Calcutta Small Cause Court—an institution corresponding with our English county Courts but vouchsafed larger powers—had been the subject of hostile criticism, due, perhaps, to the fierce light which beats about all forms of governmental agency in the metropolis, rather than to its inherent defects. A close enquiry made it clear that the method of transacting business there compares favourably with that of kindred institutions in Bombay and Madras, except as regards the duration of contested cases. The excessive delays

were largely due to a want of method in framing the cause list and too frequent postponements. These have now been reduced by the device of postponing cases not reached or part-heard *de die in diem*. In consonance with the views of the native community Sir Charles Elliott protested against a proposed reduction of the Small Cause Court Judges' jurisdiction from suits of Rs. 200 in value to those of half that amount; and objected to the option of an appeal to the High Court being permitted. He remarked that the arrears would be sensibly lessened by an indulgence in fewer holidays and a lengthening of the hours spent in Court. There can be no doubt that some curtailment is needed in the license in regard to vacations arrogated by our Civil Courts. It is a survival of the usages imported from England by the old Supreme Court. The re-organization of the subordinate judicial service was a matter of still greater urgency. Yearly swells the volume of litigation; and everywhere a cry rises for more civil courts of the first instance. The intense monotony of life in the interior leads men to give vent to their surplus energies in the arena offered by the courts of law. An experienced district judge who had been employed in enquiries as to the need of strengthening our judicial staff, had recommended large additions in the lower grades. Sir Charles Elliott supported his proposal, observing, however, that newly-founded Civil Courts rarely paid their way at first; and that the Supreme Government must expect a heavy addition to our liabilities for the cost of the additional establishments. It was only fair, he argued, that a large proportion of the loss should be met by a reassignment of provincial revenues. The administration of criminal justice is still more closely connected with executive functions. Here the local knowledge gained by His Honor during his extended tours stood him in good stead. He had, too, before him the report of a strong committee appointed by his predecessor to enquire into the admitted defects of our police system, which is largely dependent on the working of the courts. A lack of close supervision on the part of the district chief, irregularity in attendance at court on that of his subordinates; frequent and unnecessary remands—such were a few of the many defects revealed by these enquiries. They have been, in large measure, remedied. Deputy Magistrates now make it a point of honour not to plead want of time as an excuse for adjourning a case and a greater degree of zeal has been infused into all ranks of public servants. The internal organization of the police has not been neglected. Increased pay and allowances have been conceded to the rank and file; and superior educa-

tional qualifications insisted on in those which we may call the non-commissioned grades. The reserves have been reorganized, on a military basis; and legislation has been sketched out in view of improving the condition and increasing the powers of that backbone of good district government, the village watchman. Convinced by personal experience of the benefit to the people resulting from frequent tours by heads of departments, Sir Charles Elliott framed a code of rules prescribing a minimum period to be spent in the interior by each officer. The resolution embodying these orders excited considerable comment, and the wisdom of fettering the discretion of high officials was questioned far and wide. It must, however, be admitted, that in this and other respects, Sir Charles's theory and practice coincide. He shuns delights and lives laborious days. No considerations of personal comfort are allowed to outweigh those connected with this primary duty: and few portions indeed of the vast province committed to his care have not been passed in review by him.

The well-being of the agriculturist is of greater importance in Bengal than in any other Presidency. Various causes had conspired to impair it. The Permanent Settlement left the immemorial rights of the tenantry at the mercy of an unscrupulous landlord. The fierce competition for land, resulting from the advance of population and the ruin of handicrafts by English competition, had riveted the chains imposed by Lord Cornwallis and his advisers. The first really successful attempt to protect the tiller of the soil was made in the much abused Tenancy Act of 1885. One of the most important clauses in this, the ryots' Magna Charta, renders it possible for the authorities to insist on a survey and record of rights being carried out in any tract which had not been subjected to these processes. The necessity of putting this law in force is felt more or less in every district; but nowhere more pressingly than in Northern Behar, where rack-renting and extortion of all kinds leave the unhappy ryot within a hair's breadth of famine. Sir Charles Elliott pleaded the cause of these really dumb millions. He pointed out that a cadastral survey was merely an importation of accurate methods and skilled supervision into a process which all Zemindars are forced by self-interest to attempt for themselves. The proposed survey was therefore, in a good landlord's interest: for it would enable him to receive large tracts which carelessness and rule-of-thumb have left in the possession of squatters. The ryots on the other hand, would secure a bulwark against invasion of their rights by village tyrants. Who shall say that these ad-

vantages are dearly bought at an expenditure of seven annas—hardly as many pence—per acre? His Honor admitted frankly that furious and obstinate opposition would be excited by the survey. Ignorance would conspire with an interest in maintaining the countless abuses arising from the existing chaos to prejudice men's minds against a most useful reform. Sir Charles Elliott, however, argued that the results would be well worth the cost: and urged that a cadastral survey of 12,500 square miles in North Behar, to be completed in five years, might receive the sanction of the Viceroy and Secretary of State. These high functionaries acceded this warm support to the proposal; and in spite of keen opposition the great measure has been definitely resolved on.

His Honor is, indeed, the last man to shrink from personal odium when it is entailed by a course dictated by his sense of duty. Nowhere is the need for sanitation more pronounced than in our most advanced Province; and nowhere, alas, is it less understood and recognized. The public bodies which are the fruits of Lord Ripon's policy of Self-Government, have not invariably risen to the occasion. Our towns are hotbeds of disease. Sir Charles was forced to admit that the well-meant attempt to associate the people in the management of public affairs was half a century in advance of the times we live in. While the power of municipalities must be enlarged, the bonds uniting them with the authority of Government officers stand in equal need of strengthening. The Sanitary Commissioner had been little else than a quasi-ornamental appendage of Government. He has been developed into a Sanitary Board with greatly enlarged powers, and special engineering experience at his call. The Vaccination Department too has undergone drastic reform. Centralization had been pushed to external limits, and no pains had been taken to gain the help and countenance of local officials. All this is now changed. The district is now the unit in vaccine operations. Civil Surgeons, who are posted at each head quarters, are responsible for work within their several charges, and a strong staff of inspectors and sub-inspectors have been placed under their supervision. Education in the true sense of the word must precede the attempt to enforce sanitary rules. Sir Charles Elliott has given free scope to his predecessor Sir George Campbell's far-seeing policy which dotted the provinces with primary schools. Municipalities are enjoined to devote a larger share of their revenues to the support of such. That which is called high education is too firmly established to need state bolstering. The District High Schools will, therefore, be surrendered to the care of local bodies. The too long neglect-



ed cause of technical education has received his earnest support. Amongst his reform has been an entire re-casting of the Engineering College at Sibpur. It occupies the site selected by that gentle enthusiast Bishop Heber for the cherished foundation by the aid of which he hoped to bring the best traditions of our English Universities to bear on the training of young converts for the Christian Ministry. His Honor declared that the increase in the number of youths educated for engineering pursuits and qualified to develop the resources of the province was an object on which he was justified in incurring a large outlay, inasmuch as he was confident that all such outlay would be fully reproductive. The College now consists of an Engineering section and one devoted to the technical training of apprentices. Four appointments in the upper subordinate grades of the Department of Public Works are now filled by competition amongst its pupils. The College examination, with two years' practical training, is accepted as qualifying for the post of Engineer under the District Boards. The technical schools which those bodies are forming throughout the interior will, in time, be affiliated with Sibpur. We are, in fact, in a fair way of seeing the reproach removed that English rule has done little towards reviving the technical skill for which India was once world-renowned: but which has been crushed beneath the heel of Western competition.

The tribes on our eastern frontier have made themselves unpleasantly conspicuous of late. Nowhere are civilization and utter barbarism in closer contact than in the rich tracts bordering on the habitat of the fierce Lushais. This country has lately been made a separate administrative change; and the task of overawing them facilitated by a very large expenditure on roads and bridges.

Nor amid the care and drudgery of his high office has the cause of charity and social progress been neglected by Sir Charles Elliott. He is a warm supporter of that movement for bringing skilled medical and surgical aid home to the helpless women of this country which will illustrate Lady Dufferin's name when the political and diplomatic triumphs of her husband shall have passed into oblivion. The Fund owes to him a donation of Rs. 15,000, which should serve as a stimulus to the generosity of others who have far fewer claims on their purses than a Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. There is, indeed no movement which aims at lessening the sorrows of life or increasing its innocent pleasures which does not find in him a warm supporter. The task thus imposed would be beyond his strength but for the active sympathy of Lady Elliott, who nobly seconds his efforts for the common good.

This imperfect sketch of a great and useful career speaks a moral which he that runs may read. High aims persistently followed lead to honour and renown, and, that which is sweeter still to noble minds, they bring with them the consciousness of talents well applied, of evil impulses eradicated, of good instincts fostered and strengthened. Of Sir Charles Elliott may be said that which John Stuart Mill proudly records of his father, the historian of British India :—

“ His moral inculcations were at all times, those of Socrates—justice, temperance (to which he gave a very extended application), veracity, perseverance, readiness to encounter pain, and especially labour, regard for the public good ; the estimation of persons according to their merits and things according to their intrinsic usefulness ; a life of exertion in contradistinction to one of self-indulgent ease and sloth.”

**SIGNED AND SEALED !**

*(From the German of Zedlitz.)*

That sweet spring night, beside the star-lit sea,  
The crescent moon illumining our way,  
Caress'd by scented breezes at their play,  
Confidingly,—alone,—I walk'd with thee,—  
That sweet spring night, beside the star-lit sea.

Words were too weak my feelings to convey ;  
Cheek touching glowing cheek, hand lock'd in hand,  
Our glances met, as there we both did stand ;—  
"Thine, ever thine !"—was all that I could say,  
O, words were weak my feelings to convey.

"Thine, ever thine !" was whisper'd back to me ;  
Unbarr'd were then the gates of paradise,  
Unveil'd Life's wonders to my longing eyes ;  
What felt I then !—what bliss !—what ecstasy !  
When "Ever thine !" was whisper'd back to me !

O. C. DUTT.

## MICHAEL MADHU SUDAN DUTT.

### CHAPTER III, 1856-1862.

#### RETURN TO BENGAL—REVIVAL OF THE HINDU THEATRE.

• After an absence of eight years, Mr. Dutt returned to Bengal early in the year 1856. It is not true that Mr. Dutt when he heard of the passing of the Hindu Converts' Act left Madras for Calcutta expecting to substantiate his claim to a part of his father's property. There is no Act called *The Hindu Converts' Act*. What the writer in the Madras newspaper means is most probably Act No. XXI of 1850, which provides that any law or usage which inflicts forfeiture of, or affects, rights on change of religion or loss of caste should cease to be enforced. But this law was passed six years before Mr. Dutt actually left Madras for Calcutta and the passing of this Act therefore could hardly be the reason of his return to this province. It was the news of his father's death which reached him from a friend in Bengal that was the immediate cause of his departure from Madras. He knew very well that his conversion to Christianity could not under the law be any bar to inheriting his father's property and that he himself was the sole surviving heir to his father. He was also aware that his father was the owner of some landed property which he had acquired by his practice at the Sudder Dewanny Adalat, but he had no correct idea of the estate. Again his own circumstances in Madras were such that he could then hardly afford to dispense with his patrimony, whatever it was. He has himself told us that his "was the home of want." • It was therefore quite natural for one in his position to think it worth his while to try to recover his patrimony. Accordingly early in the year 1856 he came back to Bengal and put up in Bishop's College for some days after his arrival as the guest of Rev. K. M. Banerjea.

Shortly afterwards we find him engaged in litigation with some of his relations for the recovery of his paternal property. While Mr. Dutt was in Madras, and his father on his death-bed, an attempt was made to have him disinherited. • The dying man

had been advised by his relations to leave his property by will to some other person ; but he had still so much affection for his son that he simply replied that the property must go to him whose it was by right of birth. Being thus balked in their nefarious design, the evil-minded relations went so far as to forge a will disinheriting young Dutt from his father's property. Litigation ensued, and justice was done when the rightful owner ultimately succeeded in recovering his property. The total value of this property, the bulk of which consisted of landed estates called "abad" in the Sunderbans, was estimated at Rs. 75,000.

As regards pecuniary circumstances, Mr. Dutt was no better off in Bengal than in Madras. A poet like a prophet is not honored in his own country. Although Mr. Dutt came back to Bengal with reputation as a good poet and an able journalist, it was some petty appointments that were reserved for him in his own country. On his return from the Madras Presidency in 1856, we find him employed first as Clerk and afterwards as Interpreter to Babu Kisori Chund Mitter, then Junior Police Magistrate of Calcutta. Such was the appointment that was thought fit for a man who could write a poem like Byron or Scott and edit a paper in English with acknowledged ability and success. His was the case of a man of undoubted merit with no influential patron to appreciate it. At the same time some of his contemporaries with not even an one-tenth part of his talents and abilities were basking in the sunshine of official favour and patronage. "But there is no remedy, it is the curse of service ; preferment goes by letter and affection."

An event now happened which suddenly opened to him a new page in the book of life. In 1858, *Ratnāvali*, the Sanskrit drama of Sriharsa was to be played in Bengali at the magnificent garden known as the Belgatchia Villa belonging to Rajahs Pratap Chandra Singh and Issur Chandra Singh of Paikparah. These two brothers, it ought to be said here in honor to their memory, besides being great patrons of learning in general, took a conspicuous part in the formation and establishment of the modern Hindu Theatre. The *élite* of the European Community of Calcutta were invited to witness the performance. For then an English translation of the play was necessary. The Rajahs thought they could not trust it to abler hands than those of Mr. Dutt, and accordingly requested him to undertake the work. We all know how successfully he performed it.

This English translation of *Ratnāvali* marks an important epoch in the history of our poet's life. The part he took in contributing to the development of the modern Hindu Theatre will

be described in the next chapter. In this place I shall only give a short account of the rise and progress of the Bengali Stage.

This was the period of the Revival of the Hindu Theatre. It forms an important chapter in the history of the social, moral and intellectual progress in Bengal. The year 1856 is memorable for the passing by the Indian Legislature of the Widow Marriage Act in response to the cries for reform of a band of social reformers headed by that illustrious Bengali *savânt* who has lately passed away from amongst us. The whole of Hindu Society in Bengal was in a ferment. The Widow Marriage Controversies between social Conservatives and Radicals of the day are still full of interest for one who wants to study the history of that time. They also gave a fresh impetus to Bengali literature which was then in the course of rapid development. The Calcutta University was established in the year 1857. That year which is memorable for the great Military Revolt which convulsed other parts of British India, marks an important epoch in the history of English Education in Bengal. The rage for Western education was in a high pitch. In short there was then such an amount of intellectual stir in Bengali society that the like of it has hardly been witnessed since that time. In those days politics hardly engaged the attention of the educated Bengali. Political agitation, of which we hear so much at the present day, there was none. Those were not the days of National Congresses and Provincial Conferences. There was then the cry for social Reform, for Educational Reform, for Literary Reform. Whatever little politics there was at the time was to be found only in articles in the few newspapers that were conducted by native gentlemen. There was no talk of political education, no cry for representative institutions in India. The whole talents and energies of the educated Bengali were devoted to matters other than political.

It was under the circumstances described above that a taste for dramatic exhibitions revived among the educated Hindus of Bengal. In the year 1855 *Kulin Kula Sarbasva natak* was performed by some Bengali gentlemen in the house of the Bysacks of Charuckdanga Street. This was the first dramatic exhibition that was witnessed in Bengal. Babu Kissory Chund Mitter however, in his article on the subject in the Calcutta Review, dates the revival of the Hindu Drama from 1857, in February of which year *Sakuntalâ* was performed in the House of Babu Ashutosh Dey. Among the wealthy Bengali gentlemen of Calcutta, Rajah Pratap Chunder Singh of Paikpara, Babu (now Maharajah Sir) Jotindro Mohun Tagore, and Babu Kali Prosunno Singh of Jorasanko

mainly contributed to the revival of the Hindu Drama. Babu Kali Prosunno Singh first brought it to the notice of the European public of Calcutta. The performance of *Vikramorvasi* was honored with the presence of some of the foremost European gentlemen of the day who were highly pleased with it. Then followed Rajahs Pratap Chandra Singh and Issur Chandra Singh who erected a spacious Theatre at their splendid villa at Belgatchia and the corps of *Dramatis Personae* was trained by Keshub Chunder Ganguly who was a born actor. The performances at Belgatchia were honored by the élité of Calcutta Society, both European and Indian, and elicited the warmest plaudits of even such accomplished actors and fastidious critics as Mr. Clinger and Mr. James Hume. The Belgatchia Theatre gave birth to the Bengali Orchestra which was organised by Maharajah Sir Jotendro Mohun Tagore assisted by his Professor Babu Khetter Mohun Gossami. This account of the rise and growth of the Bengali Theatre is mainly taken from Babu Kristo Das Pal's writings in the *Hindoo Patriot*. Another writer who contributed an article to this Magazine on the Indian stage in May 1877 writes as follows:—"The theatrical idea which had been abolished from the native mind was brought into it anew by the example of the English. The Hindu mind was made to realize the grossness of its æsthetic phase when confronted with and questioned by a refined æsthetic development. It perceived that by a faithful imitation of Nature, in harmony with æsthetic requirements, by holding the 'Mirror up to Nature' in accordance with the laws of Art, the stage can be made a most efficient engine of social and political amelioration. The first systematic bursting forth of this conception was at the Belgatchia villa. To the late Rajahs Pratap Chandra Singh and Issur Chandra Singh must be awarded the praise of being the centres of this systematising process. A cluster of refined and rich young men gathered around them, notably the refined Maharaja Jotindra Mohun Tagore and Babu Keshar Chandra Ganguli, and histrionic representations of *Sarmistha* and other plays were effected. Since that time the development has been steadily going on. It is justly due to Maharajah Jotindra Mohun Tagore and his musical brother to mention that they have contributed signally in accelerating the growth of theatrical æstheticism in Calcutta. At a time when the Native stage showed few signs of life, it is they who prevented the idea of an Indian stage from dying out of mere oblivion, and the pains which they bestowed on this work—which, be it said to their great credit and honor, were with them a labor of unbounded love—both as regards the elaboration of the acting and the orga-

nization of the celebrated Pathuriaghata orchestra, will be, as they should be, treasured up in the minds of all patriotic Indians."

The history of the Bengali Stage may be divided into two periods; the period of Amateur Acting and the period of Professional Acting. As we have already seen above, modern Hindu Theatre began as a purely amateur affair. From 1855 to 1871, dramatic representations in Bengal were confined solely to amateur bodies whose performances mainly owed their uniform success to the skilful management of the stage by Babu Keshav Chandra Gangooly whose dramatic skill and ability have been universally acknowledged. He has been described by our poet as the first actor of modern Bengal. Indeed the first period of modern Hindu Theatre should be called the Age of Keshav Chandra Gangooly, But the success of the stage of this period would not have been what it was, but for the existence of rich and almost enthusiastic patrons like the Rajahs of Paikpara, Maharajah Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore and Babu Kally Prosunno Singh. Their purse strings were unloosed in the cause of the infant institution. They spared no means or money to make it a complete success. In the dedication of one of his dramas to Babu Keshub Chandra Gangooly, our poet deplors the irreparable loss which the stage sustained by the untimely death in 1861, of Rajah Issur Chandra Singh of Paikparah and hopes that other patrons would carefully watch the growth of the good seed that had been sown by the deceased Rajah.

From the year 1871, dates the second period of the Bengali Theatre. From that time it entered on a new career. The taste of Bengalis for theatrical representation was growing day by day. Nothing short of a permanent institution in the country would satisfy their cravings. Theatrical companies were accordingly started in imitation of the English. The days of amateur acting were over. With the starting of the *Great National Theatre* and the *Bengal Theatre*, the Bengali stage was established on a sound basis as a Professional Institution. This period I should like to call as the Age of Babu Grish Chunder Ghose. This gentleman has, it must be admitted on all hands, contributed largely to the development of the Bengali stage of the present day. In fact, it owes much of its present success to his abilities as a dramatist of a high order.

My account of the history of the Bengali stage has taken me much beyond the period assigned for this chapter. I must therefore revert to the time when our poet's connection with the Bengali stage commenced. The following extract taken from a paper



submitted in 1859 by the late Rev. J. Long to the Government of Bengal gives a correct account of Bengali Dramatic works of that period. "The Hindus, like the Chinese, having had the Drama in use among them and flourishing for 2,000 years, the taste for it has ever been maintained, and all over Bengal Jatrás or popular Dramas in honor of the gods, with a full sprinkling of indecencies, are attended by crowds. It is pleasing to see, however, that in Calcutta, and its neighbourhood, many of the educated natives patronise Dramas composed by pundits, which in popular language and sometimes with the sarcasm of a Molière condemn caste and polygamy. Such are the *Kulín Kula Sárvasva Natak*, the *Vidhabd bibaha Natak*, and the *Sapatni Natak*. The *Sarmishtha Natak*, by Madhu Sudan Dutt, has been performed successfully on the stage, as have been the *Ratnábali* and the *Sakuntalá*.

"A taste for Dramatic exhibitions has lately revived among the educated Hindus, who find that translations of the Ancient Hindu Dramas are better suited to oriental taste than translations from the English plays. However Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* has been successfully translated and adapted by Hara Chunder Ghose.\*\*\*\*\* Foremost among the patrons of the Drama are Raja Pratap Chundra Singh and a young Zemindar Kali Prasanna Singh, who has translated from the sanskrit and distributed at his own expense, the *Malati Madhava*, *Vikrama Urvasi* and *Sabitri Satyaban*."

K. L. HALDAR, B. L.

## REVIEWS.

*Report of the Kumbuliatollah Boys' Reading Club.*

"Advance Australia" is the motto of colonials in respect of commerce and trade—but "Advance India" appears to be the motto of our countrymen in regard to mental culture and morality. A perusal of the above\* report suggests to our mind that the opening page might have been suitably crowned with an illustration representing the members forcing their way through a thorny thicket in order to reach the goal of success on the other side—for they have been experiencing more than considerable difficulty from the want of funds in their work. Not daunted they have been pushing their way admirably, and the result of the year's work is certainly satisfactory. But it would apparently have been still better had their financial position been stronger. We, therefore, hope that some of our wealthy and liberal countrymen will come forward and lend them pecuniary help in this most praiseworthy cause, and we feel sure that the goal of success will this year be reached notwithstanding the thorny thicket which they have to pass through. A few gentlemen of note have visited the club, and their reports, which are printed, speak in high terms of the institution. We also find a few names of gentlemen who rendered pecuniary help; but it will be gratifying to see this list much longer in the next report. The balance in hand we note is unduly small to work with, and it is to be hoped that the same has been generously increased, that the members have been able to extend the sphere of usefulness of the club permanently as they expected to do.

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*Inventions likely to "Take" and "Pay" in India and the East.*

The above is the title of a clever pamphlet. When we say that Mr. Henry H. Remry, Solicitor and Pleader of the Calcutta High Court, is the author, any remark in favor of the

work is useless. The hints contained therein are, of course, the result of experience, achieved both by observation and study, and are thoroughly practical and useful in their nature. Those of the craft, who are anxious to make money without running the chances of losing, would do well to dive into its subject matter. We are not advertisers of Mr. Remfry's pamphlet, but we certainly own that our knowledge of the gentleman and of his qualifications demands our respect. It would give us great pleasure to see this result of his masculine brain put into practice by speculators, for we are sure they would never regret it. Gold and Tin mining might now be well laid aside, for we have something better to work upon and undoubtedly more tangible.

#### *The Anti-Opium Question.*

We have had lying before us for some considerable time a number of pamphlets relating to the "Anti-Opium Question," all of which have been cleverly written and well got up. They are designed to overthrow the arguments that are and have been advanced towards a continuance of the Opium Trade, and it is for the future to show whether the result will be its abolition or not. We are of opinion that so far both parties concerned are on an equal footing in the struggle, and keeping well on either side—for, while it is true that the abolition of the Opium traffic will tend to remove a considerable evil, it is none-the-less undeniable that such abolition must, as a matter of course, lead to another evil equally as pernicious to life and limb. A habit once acquired is very difficult to abandon, and it will require an almost stupendous strength of will to do so. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to suppose that an absolute and peremptory check to the use of opium, by those accustomed to it, will lead to the immediate embrace of other intoxicating drugs and strong liquors. We entirely divest ourselves of sentimentality and speak in quite a matter-of-fact way. We will, however, watch with interest the struggle, and will not hesitate to devote a few laudatory lines in our magazine to the party that finally comes off victorious.

#### *Some Anecdotes from the life of Raja Ram Mohan Roy.*

This book is, as the name implies, an anecdotic sketch of the life of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. The anecdotes, written in a graceful and easy style, portray vividly the lofty and independent

character of the Raja and seem to give a charm to his character with which all of us are so familiar. It will, we believe, prove interesting to everyone and especially to Indians as being an account of the life of one of our greatest men whose knowledge, generosity and disinterested patriotism, won for him the great honour, and the esteem and admiration of many.

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বর্তমান বৎসরের সন্ধিপূজার সময় নির্ণয়।

We are in receipt of a copy of the above. Mahamahopadhyaya Pundit Mohes Chunder Nayaratna, C.I.E., the author of this pamphlet, has very carefully consulted the various authorities on the subject and has calculated the proper time for the above ceremony which we believe is correct. If the calculation be supported by others, it will be accepted by the Hindu public.

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*Tattwasara Bichara* (by Pundit Haridas Sastri.)

The object of this little book is to refute the opinion of Pundit Rakhal Chundra Nayaratna, as expressed in his *Tattwasara*, that "Mind and Soul" are the one and the same thing. The author has comprehensive ideas of Eastern and Western philosophy and the reasons and arguments he has shewn have done ample justice towards disproving the statement of Pundit Rakhal Chandra Nayaratna. The question is not so simple as beginners in Western philosophy may suppose. The word Mind in Hindu philosophy is confined to that which leads the senses (or perceives) and thinks and feels. As such it is an appendage or incident belonging to the Soul. The Soul is regarded as increate, and deathless, and unstained, and independent of everything.

*Nabagram.*

We are pleased to acknowledge receipt of the above, which is a novel written by a Hindu lady. Her graceful and flowing style, coupled with the vigorous descriptions of some of the characters commonly to be found in Hindu families, makes her work a fascinating one. We congratulate the authoress upon her success in this probably her first attempt and wish she may attain her end in future attempts.

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*Ayurveda Pravesa.*

We have before us a copy of the above, a treatise on Ayurveda. Its style is marked with simplicity and nearly all the

ordinary drugs have been treated of in it in a condensed form, with directions for their use and application, so that in our opinion it is useful to beginners in Ayurveda as well as to the public. Certainly, it does credit to the author for he has written it denying himself the short leisure hours after his usual office work as a public servant.

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*Primer of Physical Geography translated into Bengalee by  
Babu Jogesh Chandra Roy, B. A.*

This little book, translated into simple Bengalee by an able Graduate, is, no doubt, a success, and seems to be of much use to beginners in the Vernacular schools in Bengal. It deserves to be made a text-book on the subject. Babu Jogesh Chandra, however, can have no chance if he has no relatives in Inspecting staff of the Education Department. Many things are done of which the director never hears. If a statement were drawn up of the present text books in use in the vernacular schools of Bengal, Mr. Charles Tawney would simply note that 95 per centum of these books had for their authors either Deputy Inspectors or brothers or brothers-in-law of Deputy Inspectors or nephews or cousins of those sapient officers. It is impossible to believe that the higher officers do not connive at this state of things. The abuse is shocking though old. We remember that the late Mr. Sutcliffe, while Director, carried the principle of nepotism so far as to make an unpublished book the text on a certain subject although when the book came out it was found to be not a whit better than many existing ones. There is a Text-book Committee. But who are its members? When do they deliberate? How? Are they obliged to give reasons for their verdicts? Are they authorised to call for statements showing which among the books recognised by them are actually introduced and which not?

*The Annual Report of the Standard Life Assurance Company  
for 1890.*

The annual report of the above Company for the year 1890 to hand. The Company is in the 65th year of its existence. The Report by the directors shows that the number of policies has come up to 13,481. The claims by death had been unusually light in 1889 being £132,000 less than those of the year before. But owing to Influenza and other causes they were in 1890 nearly £168,000 in excess of those of the year before. Great credit is due to the Managers for their interest in the business and the

new arrangements and concessions that have conferred substantial benefits upon the Proprietors and the policy holders. The Company is prospering steadily, the funds having been increased to nearly seven and a half millions of sterling.

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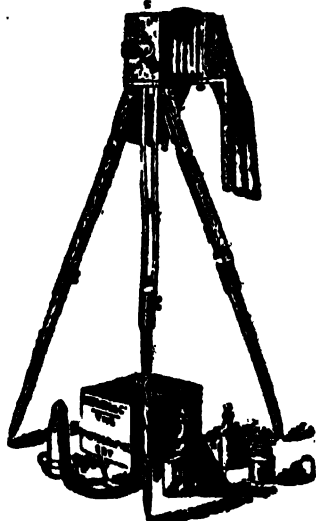
*Allo O Chhaya and Nirmalya.*

The above two works from the pen of Miss Sen are before us. Though these are the first of her productions ever passed through the press, yet, considering the profound and pleasing thoughts in some of the passages we can not but deem it a success.

The two concluding chapters in the former book, viz., *Mahawatta* and *Poondareek* have been very ably written. Her style is quite in keeping with the taste of the day. Considering all this, we think we can, without any prejudice, include her in the class of the best modern poets.

# JOHN BLEES.

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*HISTORY OF INDIAN INFANTICIDE.*

III.

Sir John Kaye in his well-known book "The Administration of the East Indian Company," page 558, expresses a very sound opinion as to the results of the measures that we have narrated in the last chapter. He says, "Though Duncan and Walker deserved success, it was not in their power to command it. They were the pioneers of humanity and civilization in that direction, and bravely they labored with axe and hatchet to clear away the dense jungle of barbarism that lay before them but they did not apply the fire to the root and the noxious wilderness soon sprung up again above the delusive clearings they had made." The measures we have alluded to had not in them the elements of permanent success. They might exhibit splendid results for a time when worked by officers having great personal influence over the children of the soil or by those who knew how to exercise a beneficent terrorism. The system was supported by covenants to which the signatories affixed their signatures with great reluctance and which had to be worked by the whole weight of authority. But the new system, which we are about to relate in this article, and which was first developed by Mr. Charles Raikes at Mainpuri and subsequently ratified in the presence of Sir John Lawrence at Umritsar, was based on self-legislation with reference to their marriage customs by the Rajputs themselves, and though

it was initiated by the officers of the State it derived its energy and motive power from those whom it sought to influence. The old system, however, was enforced in its fullest rigor by Mr. Martin Gubbins, a thorough type of that class of Indian Civilians who have inherited the traditions of the policy of Spanish sovereigns and who seek to crush by the whole weight of the criminal law the slightest manifestation of civil and religious liberty.

In the case of the Pergunnah of Bah Pinnahat in the district of Agra Mr. Gubbins found the practice so much rife among the Rajput clans that he at once set himself to battle against it. He set a series of village officers, namely the midwife, the constable, the watchman, the Patwari or village Revenue Collector, and Sub-Inspector of Police to watch each birth in a suspected family and bring it to the notice of the authorities. This plan of operations was put in force in April 1851 when Mr. Gubbins was the Magistrate and Collector of Agra. Among the Agra Rajputs named the Bhudoriahs, the custom was, that no infant was to be murdered who had drawn sustenance from the mother's breast and the attention of the authorities was drawn principally to this point that the mother might suck the infant in the presence of two female witnesses. Mr. Gubbins caused a number of small medals to be struck with the inscription "God Thy Preserver" to be given to each female Rajput born in the suspected tract. It was under the influence of Mr. Charles Raikes at Mainpuri that the other plan first saw the light, and subsequently widely adopted in the Panjab. The Chohan clan of Rajputs, inhabiting the rich valley of Mainpuri which is one of the most fertile tracts of the Doab, had not been known for centuries to rear up a daughter. Not a daughter had ever graced the princely halls of the Rajas of Mainpuri. In 1845, Mr. Unwin, the Magistrate and Collector of Mainpuri, had managed to preserve an infant daughter of the Rajah of that place. Mr. Monckton, Magistrate and Collector of Etawah, in 1849, made similar efforts in the neighbouring district of Etawah, and Mr. Robinson, Commissioner of the Agra Division, in bringing their labours to the notice of the Government, expressed his own opinion that a law protecting the people from these enormous marriage-expenses and saving, under the cloak of the power of the Government, the disgrace that attaches to refusing to incur them, would effectually check the practice of female infanticide. Mr. Charles Raikes who succeeded Mr. Unwin as Magistrate and Collector of Mainpuri summoned the Rajput Thakours of that and the neighbouring districts to a meeting expressly held for discussing the subject. A preliminary meeting was held on the 12th

November 1851 and is most enthusiastically described by Mr. Raikes. The leaders among the Rajput clans, after a thorough and exhaustive discussion on the subject, agreed upon some important principles. The first of these was that marriage expenses were to be regulated by a fixed scale according to the rank and circumstances in life of the father of the bride. The bride's party was at liberty to spend any larger sum if they liked, but the father of the bridegroom was not entitled to demand any larger sum. The second was that the lower castes of Brahmans and the Bhats and Charans who abused people for not giving away large bounties to them were to be dealt with by the strong hand of the Magistrate and their abuses were to be put down. The marriage party was to consist of a limited number of persons and nobody was to be allowed to bring a larger number. A large number of Rajput Thakurs, Talukdars, and petty chiefs with their splendid retinues, crowded into the little station of Mainpuri on the 5th of December 1851, and they accepted in the main the principles that had been laid down at the preliminary meeting. The movement was led by the Rajah of Mainpuri, the Rajah of Purnabneir, the Raja of Rampur, Thakur Poke Pal Singh, and Mr. Tyler then the Commissioner of Agra. There was considerable discussion again, and almost every Rajput present was induced to affix his signature to an agreement which embodied the above principles which were sought to be carried out in actual practice. This meeting had an important influence over the Rajput races of every part of India and from places so distant as Jalaan or Jullunder there came requests to be allowed to co-operate in the movement. An influential Rajput Thakur, by name Koonwar Gajadhar Singh, a resident landholder of Mouzah Burasut, Perganna Mustafabad, was the first man to carry out the above principles in actual practice on the occasion of the marriage of his niece, and he gratefully wrote on the 20th June 1852 to Mr. Raikes that whereas in former days such a marriage would not have cost less than 18,000 rupees, he had been able to finish every matter satisfactorily within an expenditure of seven hundred rupees. This striking effect on the Rajput clans of the neighbourhood was systematically followed up by Mr. Raikes. He addressed a stirring letter on the subject to the Rajput races throughout India—a letter which was couched in the purest phraseology of the Urdu language. This letter is still kept in the families of many of those to whom it was addressed, and the present writer had an opportunity to read it in the original. An English translation of it is given in the *Benares Magazine* for June 1852, and there is no doubt that in its original

garb it was not only a model of Urdu composition but calculated to appeal effectively to the very class of persons to whom it was addressed. Statistics taken for this special purpose prove that at the end of 1855 there were 2530 Chohanee girls. In 1842 there was not a single Chohanee girl alive. The infanticidal races of the Panjab are many. The Rajputs of Kangra, Jummo and Munhas, the Sikhs in all their various tribes, some tribes of Khattris and Mahomedans such as the Buras, the Gonduls of Shahpur and Doghurs of Ferozpur are some of the principal among them. There are numerous traditions to warrant the fact of their killing their female children. The tradition among the Sikhs is that Mihr Chand, third in descent from Guru Nanak, had one sister, at whose marriage there was a considerable amount of ill-feeling between the parties of the bridegroom and the bride. This caused much annoyance to Dhum Chand, the father of Mihr Chand, and that venerable old man laid the injunction that among the Sikhs no daughter should henceforth live. The sons of Dham Chand prayed their father to reconsider this decision as such a command from one who was equally the spiritual and temporal head of the Sikhs would cause it to be implicitly obeyed and thus make them resort to a practice which was repugnant to humanity and prohibited by the Shastras. But Dhum Chand replied that he would take the entire responsibility of the sin on his own shoulders, and that the Sikhs, if they were to remain true to their faith, were to rear up no daughters. This command was so implicitly obeyed that if for any special reason any daughter chanced to be preserved in any family, that family was thrown out of the pale of social intercourse and placed under the ban of excommunication. This tradition has several versions, and Major Abbot relates that it was owing to the ill-treatment the daughter of Meher Chand suffered at the house of her father-in-law that the inhuman injunction was laid. The Panjab was Lord Dalhousie's pet province. He placed it under the charge of some of the ablest officers of State, who were all vigorous administrators. They mixed freely with the people, and they soon took in hand measures for the suppression of infanticide.

Those able officers adopted the plan of pointing out to the people themselves the enormities of such a system and making them give it up gradually. Their efforts found a powerful ally in those feelings of affection for their daughters which nature has planted in the mother's breast. Even in communities where infanticide prevailed in its direst form, occasionally the lives of some female children had been preserved by their mothers owing to the

opportune absence of the fathers at the moment of their birth. Captain Hall relates a touching anecdote as to how the daughter of a Sirdar of the Mair tribe had been preserved owing to the entreaty of its mother in a touching manner. Backed by the moral support that the British Government gave it, the movement was warmly taken up by the fairer half of the community and the daughters of the martial races of the Punjab were preserved. The danger that was then apprehended was a real one and consisted of the risk there was of the races relapsing into the same practices when they would find that there occurred any difficulties in the way of marrying them. The Hindu father looks with the greatest dread on the contingency of his daughter's remaining unmarried, and pride of birth and hereditary rank might make it difficult to find suitable husbands in all cases. The question as to what to do with our girls has always been difficult of solution in all countries, and it was very much feared that the difficulty of providing suitable matches for the daughters might one day lead the Panjabi races to curse those who had been chiefly instrumental in bringing about this most salutary reform. Thirty-eight years have elapsed since the day when the first great demonstration against infanticide in the Punjab took place at the memorable meeting at Umritsar, and girls among the infanticidal races have grown up in large numbers. It would be interesting, indeed, to learn the present condition of those girls and the present feelings of their fathers with reference to them. We are not permitted, however, to lift up the veil from the secluded zenana and to dwell on the mass of feelings which are embosomed behind the purdah. There is no doubt that all these girls have found suitable matches as no Hindu father will ever keep his daughter unmarried. There is no doubt also that the ancient pride of birth and the feeling of exclusiveness, which were once the characteristics of these races, have suffered many shocks in finding these suitable alliances. It would, indeed, be a very interesting chapter of Indian history to trace the successive steps by which this pride of birth gave way before the considerations with reference to the future of their daughters, but it is only by the utmost straining of terms that that subject can be included within the limits of the present article. The condition of the Hindu females as a whole requires several important changes to be brought about. Many girls who are unfortunate enough to lose their husbands even before they first see their betrothed, have to drag on a miserable existence in perpetual widowhood. Although the legislature has removed all legal barriers for the

due celebration of widow marriage, the reform has hardly been accepted by the Hindu community, and that much yet remains to be done. Those ruinous marriage expenses which lay principally at the foot of infanticide in the olden times still continue to oppress many races and sects, and though very good example in this direction has been shown by the Rajputs and some of the castes in Upper India through a recent organization, in Bengal, the boasted home of enlightenment and culture, called by its inhabitants the premier province of India, the much-needed reform is as far from being carried out as ever. The kind and sort of education that the women of India require for the proper discharge of their very responsible duties in life, is still sadly wanting. The age for the consummation of marriage should be raised by common consent to at least fourteen, as is the prevalent custom among the most influential and martial clans of Upper India, Rajputana, and the Punjab. Government has wisely left these reforms entirely the initiation of the enlightened natives of India themselves and it is, indeed, sad to reflect how little is really being done in that direction. When through the force of circumstances the proud Rajput and the sturdy Sikh have been known to sacrifice so deep-rooted a sentiment as pride of birth in the matter of eligible matches for their daughters, the social reformer might see a bright ray of hope in conservative India and persevere with the earnest trust that opinion would gradually veer round to his side. The European reader, who is free to act as to him might seem proper and who is wedded to no traditions, would probably find it difficult to understand as to why we lay such stress on the pride of birth in which the tribes once addicted to the practice of female infanticide used to cherish. The average Englishman would probably be inclined to dismiss this consideration with the remark that no attention is to be paid to the false pride of an idolatrous race. But no one who has any experience of India and who knows from a study of history the obstacles which are placed in the path of the Indian reformer by these and similar sentiments, would be disposed to take the same view. The Rajputs and the Sikhs must themselves have felt strongly on the subject of infanticide and they could not but entertain in their own minds an utter repugnance to so reprehensible a practice. This alone explains the alacrity and enthusiasm with which they entered on the work of self-legislation when they were induced by the persuasions of some of the ablest officers of the Punjab to take the subject in hand. Just after the annexation of the Punjab, Major E. Lake, the Deputy Commissioner of Deccanpuggar, in November 1851, in reporting the death

of a girl under very suspicious circumstances, brought the wide prevalence of this custom to the notice of the authorities. He remarked that it was an undoubted fact that there were a thousand families of Bedees who for the last four hundred years had destroyed all their female offspring. Mr. Robert Montgomery in his note on the subject said that the evil to be mastered was not in men's bodies only but in their souls, not only in their acts but in their motives, that it was to be dealt with accordingly, and that in grappling with this monster crime the only hope of permanent success lay in destroying that principle to which it owed its existence. The able members of the Board of Administration for the Punjab decided to make the judicious and successful plans of Mr. Raikes at Mainpuri the model of the Panjab measures, as being the only true way of suppressing infanticide. Major Herbert Edwardes; then Deputy Commissioner of Jullunder, who was afterwards destined to play an important part in the history of the Panjab and who is perhaps the only Indian officer whose fame has been put beyond the risk of perishing, by the immortal pen of the greatest of England's art critics, John Ruskin, was placed on special duty to compile a report setting forth the whole bearings of the case. A meeting took place in which the Bedees and Khattries were invited to consider their marriage customs, on April 4th, 1853, under the presidency of Sir Donald Macleod. The result of this meeting was that they entered into an agreement by which they gave up the wicked practice of infanticide, according to their own free will and according to the wishes of the Government. Mr. R. Montgomery and the Chief Commissioner Mr. Lawrence, after a full consideration of the subject, came to the conclusion that the Government was to deprecate any strict system of supervision by the police as impotent for good and liable to be used as an engine of oppression and extortion. They went on to say "a system of espionage was but likely to enlist the feelings of the people against our efforts and thus furnish a powerful inducement to thwart them. If we can once get influential natives to set their faces against female infanticide, to consider it a crime and a disgrace, our eventual success may be deemed certain." At the initiation of the above band of noble workers in the Panjab, the influential leaders of the various communities of the land of the five Rivers were invited to a grand meeting at Umritsar on the Dewalee day. The Marquis of Dalhousie was the presiding genius of India at that time, and he used to take a special interest in his pet province, the Panjab. Lord Dalhousie wrote an exhaustive letter on the subject, dated the 7th of September 1853, in which he officially



approved of the action taken and proposed to be adopted by the Panjab Board of administration. His Lordship says, "The sentiments of the Government in condemnation of this horrible crime should not be left to make their own way upon the convictions of the people, but should be openly proclaimed and enforced by denunciation of certain punishment upon those who are convicted of offending." And again, "The Governor-General in Council would be prepared to sanction any rewards, honors and even titles which you may recommend the Government to bestow on a few of those who may have been most forward in abandoning the inhuman practices which their fathers pursued." A proclamation was drawn up embodying the above instructions of the Governor-General in Council, and the Umritsar meeting was timed to take place in the last week of October 1853. It is thus described in the official report which was penned by Sir John Lawrence. "Rajah Deena Nath and Rajah Saheb Deel presided over the deliberations of the Brahmin and the Khattri committees and were both able and valuable counsellors on the occasion. Sirdar Shumshere Singh and Metab Singh, respectively the representatives of the noble Sindeenwala and Mujetea families, Sirdar Kirpal Singh Mulvee and Hurdut Singh, Budanea with Sirdar Tod Singh and other Sikh chieftains, guided the deliberations of the Jat and Sikh fraternities and contributed greatly by their advice and countenance to a satisfactory termination. Nawab Emamooddeen Khan and other Mahomedan gentlemen presided over the council of the Mahomedans and appeared to take the same warm and praiseworthy interest in furthering the object of the meeting. After four or five hours close and earnest consultation, the committee handed in their several written and duly-attested agreements. In these documents were laid down well-graduated scales of marriage expenditure for the different castes and communities whose interests were concerned. In the majority of them three or four grades of expenditure according to the means and position in society of the parties contracting the marriage were recognized and a maximum as well as a minimum of expenditure fixed; also all the details of the charge, the gratuities to Brahmins, barbers and others, and the other incidental expenses of the marriage feast and procession, were laid down at length." With reference to the Umritsar meeting Lord Dalhousie says (February 1, 1854), "The Governor-General in Council does not think that he overrates the importance of these incidents when he describes the result of the meeting at Umritsar as the commencement of a new social era among the people of the countries beyond the

Jumna. The benevolence, the perseverance, the judgment and tact by which this harmonious result has been educed from out of such various and discordant materials are honorable in the highest degree to the gentlemen whose names are enrolled in the record before his Lordship in Council. To see hereafter the ripening fruit of their labours will be a higher reward to them than any honor which the Government or the Court of Directors can bestow. Nevertheless, his Lordship in Council desires to renew to them, one and all, an assurance of the interest and deep satisfaction with which the Supreme Government has marked their efforts for good and of the earnestness with which it will endeavour duly to represent their merits to the Honorable Court." The Umritsar meeting was followed up by persistent efforts in the districts of Goorjanwalla, Rawal Pindee, Jhelam, Shahpur, Multan, and Kangra. Meetings on a smaller scale were held at Umballa and Ferozpur. There was an important meeting of the Jummowal Rajputs at Budheal under Prince Ranbir Singh. Mr. Charles Raikes addressed the meeting in simple and chaste eloquence, and Prince Ranbir Singh followed with a few pertinent remarks. He said that the plan had his cordial approval and that he was prepared, as a mark of his sincerity, to revoke the tax on marriages that was levied within Jummoo territory. The Prince also added the thoughtful suggestion that the expenses attendant on marriages should be divided between the families of the two contracting parties, "by which arrangement the value of a daughter would become equal to that of a son, her life as precious as his, and the motive to its destruction be entirely removed." Lord Dalhousie conveyed his congratulations to the officers concerned in these persistent efforts, and expressed his opinion that the success already achieved within the space of a few months has far exceeded the most sanguine anticipations of the Government; and he ventured to utter a feeling of humble confidence that a blessing would rest on this good work, whereby it would be made to spread and prosper. Under the blessings of Providence so devoutly hoped for by the Marquis of Dalhousie, the affected tracts became pure of the blood of female infants in the course of a decade. The latest census brings out statistics which show an almost equal number of male and female children among all those tribes who were formerly addicted to the practice of infanticide, and it is, indeed, delightful to contemplate how successful have been the philanthropic labours of those whose efforts have been narrated above.

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## THE TWO COUSINS.

The day was nine hours old before it was allowed to send its glorious summer sunshine into Sir Dick Dynevor's chambers, and shine in on that gentleman himself seated at his breakfast table, and sorting the pile of letters beside his plate. He took up one, which was addressed in a neat running hand, and breaking the seal, read it once rather thoughtfully—put it down—took it up again—read over one or two passages—and then, placing it on the table, rose from his chair, sauntered listlessly to the window, out of which he stared aimlessly for a few minutes; and then walked rapidly to the bell, and gave it a vigorous pull. The servant, who answered it, was ordered to get his "traps" ready, as he was to leave London in a few hours. Sir Dick then paced up and down the room with a rather amused look on his face, as he thought of his letter. He was a tall, grave, handsome man, with strong clear-cut features, and a mouth and chin, which plainly showed the haughty, unbending will. "Poor dear Mater! Why will she trouble herself so much about me?" he murmured to himself, "when I want to get married I shall do so without asking anyone's help or advice." Later on he wired to his mother to expect him that afternoon; and after paying a few visits, drove to the station, where he soon made himself comfortable with books and papers enough to last any ordinary man a three days' journey by train instead of one of only a few hours.

The letter, which occasioned his sudden departure from London, was from his mother telling him to come down at once, as she had two girls staying with her, the daughters of her two oldest friends. "They are very pretty girls and both heiresses," she wound up with, "so you must come down and help me to entertain them" was the maternal mandate, but which in plainer terms meant, that he was to marry one of them; at least so Sir Dick read it. He always liked, however, to please his mother, so left London at once.

As soon as Lady Dynevor received her son's telegram, the thought occurred to her, that it would be rather a clever stroke, if

she could manage that Dick should meet the heiresses without knowing who they were, so that, not being prejudiced against them, he might fall in love with one of them. She had great faith in love at first sight, as her own experience of it had been very happy. Now how was it to be done? A few minutes she devoted to thinking and then walked into the morning-room, where these important heiresses were amusing themselves at the piano.

"My dears, will you do a commission for me?"

"Certainly, Lady Dynevor," and Rhoda Carruthers left the piano-stool immediately.

"Thanks, Rhoda; well you know that altar-cloth I am working must be ready next month, and I have just fallen short of some silks; will you both run up to Tentsley and match them for me?"

"With pleasure," she replied, "I have just been longing for something to do. Come along Dolly, and let us get ready at once. I suppose we shall be back by the afternoon train, Lady Dynevor?"

"Yes, Rhoda; and I have just received a telegram from dear Dick to say, that he is coming down this afternoon; so you can all come back together from Tentsley" and adding a few more directions about her silks, the old lady left the room.

Then Rhoda turned to Dolly Merton, who had been sitting quietly in the back ground, and said in a tone of mock horror, "Trapped, Dolly, trapped at last. Do you know I never would have come to Dynevor Court, if I had known it was likely, that Sir Dick was coming also; we have always managed to avoid him before, and if we go away now it will be rather marked. If I had only known!"

"Why on earth she wants her son to marry one of us, I cannot imagine," was Dolly's answer.

"But neither of us will marry him," cried the other girl, haughtily tossing her head, "You may though on second thoughts, Dolly."

"Thank you for nothing, Rhoda, you may be bitten yourself if you are too sure," laughed her cousin. Rhoda joined in the laugh also, the idea was too absurd to be entertained, "however I suppose we must do her commissions to-day and meet this charming son at Tentsley. I mean to be very nasty to him while he stays here as of course he must know perfectly well, why his mother has sent for him. So a few hours later the two girls were standing on the platform of Tentsley station which was half an hour by rail from Dynevor Court and waiting for the down train.

"I wonder, if he is really coming," cried Rhoda.

"But how we shall know him is a puzzle," said Dolly, knitting her brows.

"Oh, that will be easy; I don't suppose there are many gentlemen coming down just now; and if we see one solitary male passenger, occupying a whole compartment, we shall know it is him. Hark! I hear the whistle," and the two girls walk up to the end of the platform to enable them to scan all the carriages as the train steamed in. They see a fair, curly head out of one window, and a dark close-cropped head out of another; the rest of the carriages are empty or only occupied by ladies.

"Which is Sir Dick, Rhoda?"

"I am sure it is the fair one, you see he has blue eyes also like Lady Dynevor (Rhoda quite forgot that old Sir Dick was a very dark man, and this his son may have taken after him) and his features also look the same." Pure and simple imagination, as there was not the slightest resemblance. Rhoda decided, however, that there was, and in consequence of this decision the girls seated themselves in the carriage occupied by the fair-haired, blue-eyed man. After a while, the ice being broken by a casual remark from the stranger about putting the window up, the three were chatting merrily together; and Dolly began to think, that Sir Dick Dynevor was not so very formidable after all; in fact, she quite liked him. When the train stopped he handed the girls out, and put them into the carriage, that was waiting for them; then saying he would see them soon again, for Dolly had made a decided impression on his heart,—being a very winsome little girl at all times,—he wished them a pleasant good-bye, and went back to the train.

Dolly looked at her cousin in a very bewildered way. "What does he mean?" She asked; and then the footman came up to say, that Sir Dick Dynevor had come by the same train, and would have to go in the carriage with them.

"Yes, certainly." Rhoda had quite recovered her self-possession, and looked criticisingly at the dark-haired man, who apologised so very quietly for intruding. But he was assured it was no intrusion, and they were all introduced to each other by Rhoda, who declared that it was very necessary to know people, with whom you are going to live.

The conversation is carried on entirely by the girls, although Dolly makes one or two feeble efforts to include the grave baronet; but he is very taciturn, replying only in monosyllables, to Miss Carruthers great indignation. "Taking stock of us!" she mentally ejaculates, and she flushes scarlet with anger at the awkward

position, into which Lady Dynevor's carelessness had brought her.

But perhaps, if she had known why he was so silent, she might not have been annoyed. He was "taking stock," but in quite a different way; for he was thinking, that he had seldom seen such a noble, intellectual girl, and somehow he was not so very sorry he had left London. But how was it they were travelling from Tentsley that day? Was it unconsciously, or through some freak of his mother? Another few minutes' drive brought them to Dynevor Court, a stately pile of grey stone in the middle of a lovely park, and from the lofty marble terraces of which faint glimpses could be caught of the blue sea-line.

Lady Dynevor was standing in the Hall, ready to receive them; she kissed her son fondly; and then, turning to the girls, asked if they had had any trouble in recognising Dick.

"Yes," answered Rhoda coolly, "you forgot to describe him, so we travelled down with some one else; he said he knew you, and would see us again soon."

"It must be Mrs. Chichester's nephew, she wrote to say he was coming down on a month's leave; I shall be glad to see him again, but I am so sorry you missed each other. I thought it would be a good chance for you to see the girls without being prejudiced against them," this was said to her son in a much lower key; and guessing intuitively that they would have a great deal to say to each other, she allowed the heiresses to withdraw to their rooms till dinner-time. Lady Dynevor anxiously asked her son how he liked them, but he replied laughingly, that he had not had time to judge, so she must wait: and she was fain to be content.

Another week sufficed to show Sir Dick, that, if he had been loth to leave London for the sake of these heiresses, one of them at least was not at all pleased, that he had come; for Rhoda Carruthers persistently snubbed him. It was a novel experience, and he was not quite sure if he disliked it. The following instance will show how he took it the first time.

About two days after they had settled down, some one asked Sir Dick, if he had heard much music the last time he was in London, "Yes, he had heard a good deal." Then Dolly, who was very proud of her cousin's accomplishments, said, that after he had heard Miss Carruthers play, he would never wish to hear anyone else. "Indeed," said he eagerly, "do play something this evening after dinner:" but she shook her head, and muttered something about not having her music with her. Dolly guessed what it was, and eager to atone for her mistake, attracted his attention to her.

self, and the subject was dropped; but after dinner Sir Dick went up to Rhoda to lead her to the piano.

"I am extremely sorry, but I have sprained my left wrist, and could not play at all;" but her eyes did not look at all sorry, and Sir Dick felt greatly put out. He could not doubt a lady's word, however, but he was almost sure he saw a look pass between the cousins, and he felt mildly angry. Then Dolly went to the piano, and began playing waltzes, and polkas and gallops, till he was fairly maddened; for above all things he hated dance music, and she was playing so shockingly too; so he went up to her, and asked her to sing "Ruby" the first song he caught sight of; she put the music before her, and he stood at the piano with the air of a martyr, for he expected to hear some ordinary, drawing-room singing; but he was fairly surprised, for Dolly possessed a magnificent voice, which had been well trained; and as the rich cadences rose, and swelled, and filled the room, Lady Dynevor, who was playing chess with Rhoda, stopped in her game, and said Dolly's singing always gave her an idea of what heaven would be like. Just then the words "small white hand" fell on Sir Dick's ear, and his eye fell involuntarily on Rhoda's hand which was just then hovering over the chess-board. "A small firm white hand" was his unspoken comment, "shows great strength of character," and then his eye wandered from the hand to the face, and he found Rhoda's eyes fixed upon him with such a cool, scrutinising stare, that he felt quite taken aback. Then Miss Carruthers shrugged her shoulders and continued her game.

Shortly after that Mrs. Chichester and her nephew came to Dynevor Court for a short visit; and long before it was over Fred Chichester found himself deeply in love with bonnie Dolly Merton "and I cannot say a word to her, because she is an heiress, and I am only a poor lieutenant" he groaned to himself. But love soon gets blind to all obstacles such as these, and in her innocence of money matters, Dolly never thought there would be anything strange in Fred Chichester asking her to marry him; so she felt very angry and hurt, when he told her one day, that he must be thinking of leaving the Court, "Indeed" was the quiet reply, but he stole a look at her face, which strangely belied the tones of her voice, for it was working and twitching convulsively, and the loving eyes were full of tears. They were quite alone, being in a solitary corner of the park so he took both her hands in his and said, "Dolly dear, look at me."

By way of answer the brimming tears fell down her cheeks; then he released the hands, and took possession of the wrist, whispering the while; "It is so hard to tell you, my dear girl,"

"Why," she sobbed.

"Because people will say I am a fortune-hunter; so I cannot ask you to be my wife," drawing back with a very white face.

"But you love me, Fred?" she queried, clinging closely to him.

"More than I can ever tell you."

"Then it does not matter what people say, for I love you, Fred, and shall be miserable, if you go away."

It is needless to repeat his answer, so an hour later all the house knew, that Dolly was engaged to Fred. Chichester. The latter immediately wrote to Mr. Merton to formally ask him for his daughter's hand, the heart being given already; but he received a stern refusal, and it was not till Lady Dynevor wrote to Mr. Merton herself, that he relented, and the young couple were made happy. In the meantime Sir Dick Dynevor was getting more and more perplexed than he had ever been in all his life; and it was only a woman who was puzzling him. For Rhoda was as provoking, as she could possibly be. One thing was certain, the hitherto unassailable Baronet had completely succumbed under the present shower of Cupid's arrows: twenty times a day he vowed he would go back to London, and twenty times a day he broke his resolution to do so; some charming little impertinence of Rhoda's would flit across his mind and make him weak and unstable as water.

He asked her one morning to go for a ride; the only answer he got was a cool stare and a sight of her left wrist to show that it was not healed yet. How could he subdue this haughty girl?

But when a few days afterwards everyone except Rhoda went out, she thought it would be a good opportunity to open the piano, which she had not touched since Sir Dick's return, more than a month ago. She had often longed to play, but had restrained herself, knowing well, that the moment she played he would be at her side; but now she was all alone, and would be so for the next two or three hours. So she went to the drawing-room, and sitting down to the piano, put her whole soul into the music. Time flew, but Rhoda was oblivious of it; she was also oblivious of the fact that the door had opened, and someone had entered and seated himself in a friendly chair close by her and was listening to her music with his whole soul. Suddenly a breath of wind came in at the window, and blew the music off the rack, bringing Rhoda back to her senses. Turning round to pick it up, and seeing Sir Dick stooping to do so, every drop of blood receded from her face, as placing the music on the stand he said, commandingly,



"How is your hand, Miss Carruthers?"

"Quite well, thank you, Sir Dick."

"I am glad to hear that and—but she was leaving the room, so he broke off and caught her hand to detain her "tell me why you would not play for me before?"

But the girl's quick ear had heard footsteps, and snatching her hand from Sir Dick's, she ran out of the room, passing Lady Dynevor, who was just entering. Dick went eagerly up to his mother and said, that he had heard Rhoda playing, and added "I am very glad I decided to put off my business in Tentsley till next week, for now Miss Carruthers cannot refuse to play to me;" and whistling a popular air he left the room. But his mother sat down and began to think; she thought the girls of the nineteenth century were a puzzle: here was her son, rich, well-born and handsome, passionately in love with a girl, who although she was an heiress did not often have a Baronet at her feet. She knew Rhoda to be a very self-controlled girl, but the best controlled girl in the world would show in some way, that she felt the presence of the man she loved; but Lady Dynevor looked in vain to see Rhoda hoist the red flag of defeat. Not a muscle of her face quivered when Dick drew near her; and then again she never looked sorry or disappointed, when maddened by her coolness and indifference, he would leave her. But it must be a puzzle to my readers why Lady Dynevor wanted her son to get married. There was no mystery at all; but simply because she was an inveterate match-maker. Whenever she spent the season in London, anxious mothers with three or four marriageable daughters would earnestly beseech her to chaperone them; and it was a standing joke against her, that one reason she had chaperoned and married off no less than seven girls. Match-making was her hobby, and as all her matches had been happy ones, her success encouraged her to try again, this time for her son's benefit; but now she was fairly nonplussed by Rhoda.

That same evening Sir Dick asked Rhoda to play; she looked up intending to refuse, but something in his eyes made her lower her own, and she walked with an appearance of submission to the piano. But if he had expected a repetition of the lovely music he had heard that afternoon, he was disappointed; for with the spirit of mischief rampant in her, she dashed into a brilliant fantasia, and played it in a thoroughly professional style, swaying her whole body from side to side, flinging her hands over her head, and making other most fantastic gestures: when it was finished she swung round and said gaily, "I am so glad you like music." "I

do not like that kind of music Miss Carruthers" was the quiet answer.

Deeply mortified, she remained motionless for a moment, and then, walking rapidly across the room, stepped out on to the terrace, where she remained so long, that Dolly feared she would catch cold and hastened out herself to bring her in. One swift glance round the room showed Rhoda that Sir Dick was not in the room, and pleading a head-ache she retired for the night. The next day she was very cool and calm to Sir Dick, and he could not make out whether she was annoyed or not; and before he had time to do so the two girls were recalled home by Mrs. Merton, who wished to begin the preparations for Dolly's wedding, Fred Chichester being very impatient to be married, knowing that at any time he might be ordered out to India.

The next three months were spent in London, interviewing milliners and shopping, till even the bride's patience gave way; and she assured her mother that she would not live to wear out all the clothes that were being made. At last everything was ready, so one morning there was a very pretty wedding in the old country church, for Mr. Merton would not allow his daughter to be married in London, declaring that Dolly must be married in the same church, in which she was christened.

For the first three months after Dolly's departure, Rhoda was so very gentle and subdued to Sir Dick that he began to feel very hopeful, and visited the Merton's house almost every day; Lady Dynevor wrote often and reminded Rhoda of the promise she had made to spend Christmas with her, when an incident occurred, which completely spoilt the fair dream of happiness, that Sir Dick had been indulging in. One afternoon, when going as usual to the Merton's to take Miss Carruthers for a long ride, he was stopped by a gentleman, who asked him if a Mr. Merton lived in the neighbourhood; being answered in the affirmative, and having learnt his address, thanked Sir Dick and immediately set off in the given direction. Sir Dick followed him and told him, that he was going there also, so they might just as well go together. On the way the stranger volunteered the information, that he had been out of England for ten years, and added, with a laugh, a hope, that he had not been forgotten entirely by all his friends. When the house was in sight, his impatience made him walk so fast, that Sir Dick was left some distance behind, wondering who on earth he could be. Without telling the footman his name, he pushed past him, and bounded up the stairs three at a time, only pausing to call out to Sir Dick, who was again close behind—

"You are quite sure this is the right house"—"Quite sure," was the baronet's answer, "and to prove it, there is Miss Carruthers herself; for Rhoda had appeared at the top of the stairs looking charming in an exquisitely fitting dark green habit, and holding a dainty little-riding whip in her hand. No sooner had the stranger caught sight of her, with one more bound he had her in his arms and kissed her several times. This made Sir Dick feel *de trop*, so he quietly turned away and left the house, though not before he heard Rhoda say delightedly 'Jim, Jim, is it really you.' For a whole week he did not see her, and it was a most unhappy week to him; but he was too hurt and too jealous to go near her, feeling sure that "Jim" must be there too. "He must be someone very dear to her. Who can he be? Not a brother or cousin, I have never heard of any. The poor fellow tormented himself with jealous thoughts like these, and finally in desperation made up his mind to go and ask Rhoda the question plainly; he had hardly the right to do so, but knowing his motive. She would surely forgive his presumption.

The first day he was disappointed for the whole family was out, but the next day he was more successful. "Yes, Miss Rhoda was at home"—the footman said, "You will find her in the blue room, Sir," for Sir Dick did not wish to be announced. That was most unfortunate, for, as he opened the door, then was Rhoda with that obnoxious "Jim" very close to her, in fact one arm was round her and his hand was smoothing back her hair. With a tremendous effort, Sir Dick pulled himself together, and apologised for intruding, adding that it was only a farewell visit, so he would not keep her long. The word "farewell" startled Rhoda so much, that she hardly seemed to hear his regrets at not having time to wait and see Mrs. Merton; she only felt the close clasp of his hand and then—he was gone.

But it is now time to explain who "Jim" was. Ten years ago, Mr. Merton had sent his only son, then a mere boy of fourteen, out to Australia. Scarcely a month later came the news, that the vessel had foundered with all hands. Rhoda cried bitterly, when she heard of her cousin's death, as he had been more like a brother than a cousin; and she felt his loss very much. Judge then if she gave him too warm a welcome after ten years' absence; she might have remembered the presence of a third person, but we cannot always restrain our feelings. Time passed on very wearily for Rhoda after that. It was quite true that Sir Dick had left England for his mother wrote to say so and to regret, that she could not keep Rhoda to her promise of spend-

ing Christmas with her, as she intended wintering in the south of France.

Late in the following year, Dolly wrote to say, that her husband had six months leave, and they were coming home to spend it. When she did come, she was shocked to see the change in Rhoda; the misunderstanding with Sir Dick, for whom she really cared in spite of her indifferent manner,—had weighed so much on her spirits, as to make her really ill. A severe wetting one evening completed the mischief and Rhoda was very ill. Dolly nursed her with the tenderness of a devoted sister and made a resolution, which she carried out, as soon as her patient became convalescent. She wrote to Lady Dynevor telling her, that she had returned from India and would for 'auld acquaintance' spend Christmas with her, bringing Rhoda also. The reply was prompt, Lady Dynevor was delighted; they were to come at once: so Dolly immediately packed up and a few days later saw them once more settled at the Court. But Sir Dick was not there, nor did his mother expect him. That rather disconcerted Dolly, as she had hoped to put matters right for her cousin, having already guessed that something was the matter from Rhoda's evident shrinking whenever Sir Dick's name was mentioned. The fresh country air was slowly bringing back the roses to Rhoda's cheeks, when Lady Dynevor received a letter from her son, announcing his intention of spending Christmas with her. A few days later he arrived and the embarrassed way in which he and Rhoda greeted each other confirmed Dolly's suspicions, that something was the matter; so first probing Lady Dynevor to find out whether she would approve of the match, and meeting with her full concurrence, this wily little lady then took her into her confidence and disclosed a plan which she had formed for bringing the two together. "A la Beatrice and Benedict," said Dolly. The plan worked well, for a few days later, while sitting in the library and reading, Sir Dick heard voices out on the terrace, and caught his own name; human nature conquered for a moment, and he put down his book just in time to hear the following in Dolly Chichester's voice, "I wonder what it is, Rhoda loves Sir Dick, as much as he loves her, but she is so insolent and indifferent to him, that I cannot make out what she means." He was too honorable to listen any longer, but left the library with his head all in a whirl and his heart beating wildly. Then the window was opened and Lady Dynevor and Dolly stole in, feeling a little guilty, but glad on the whole, that they had taken the first step. Sir Dick had gone out into the shrubbery and was pacing

up and down trying to collect his thoughts; he had heard some time before from his mother who "Jim" was, and that helped to bring him home; he was aware that he had been to blame in rushing to conclusions so quickly and was very penitent, but Miss Carruthers would have none of him. After an hour's pacing up and down, he went inside to look for Rhoda, but his mother met him in the hall, and said that she was keeping her room, as she was not very well. But the next day happening to stroll into the drawing-room, he found Rhoda curled up on a sofa before the fire. "Is that you, Miss Rhoda? I have been looking everywhere for you, come and help me to gather some flowers;" and before the girl could stop him, he had her off the sofa with her hand on his arm, heading for the conservatory, which led off from the drawing-room. She resisted feebly, but he took no notice, so she had to submit, finding in the submission a strange sweet pleasure, which she had never felt before. "Pluck that Camellia, Miss Rhoda." She put out her hand to do so, when the sound of voices struck her ear and Lady Dynevor's voice was plainly heard, saying, "I do not know what to make of it, my dear Dolly; as you say Dick is passionately fond of Rhoda, and yet, he is so courteous and distant, that any girl would be justified in behaving as coldly, as she does: it is the great wish of my heart to see them married." Both listeners turned red as fire, and Rhoda turned hastily towards the door; but Sir Dick, who partly understood his mother's ruse, was too quick for her, and seizing her hands, told her in a few hurried words, that his mother had spoken the truth, and that surely she would not send him away now. "You do not know how I have suffered from giving way to jealousy, as I did last year, Rhoda," he pleaded; and that his pleading was not in vain may be inferred from the fact, that three months later the village was *en fête*, and the wedding bells were ringing for the marriage of the master of Dynevor Court with Miss Rhoda Carruthers.

E. T. HENSON.

*THE MURAL ANTIQUITIES OF BEHAR.*

"Come and see  
 The cypress, hear the owl, and plod your way  
 O'er steps of broken thrones and temples."  
*Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*

"In Indien möcht ich selber leben,  
 Hätt es nur keine Steinmatsen gegeben."

*Goethe.*

Towards the beginning of last year, the Trustees of the Indian Museum were in correspondence with the Government of Bengal, touching the Buddhist archaeological remains at Behar in the Patna district. They desired that these valuable relics should be deposited in the Indian Museum, and applied to His Honor, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, for permission to remove whatever was worth preserving, and for a grant of money towards the cost of the transport. Their project was given every encouragement, and in the month of September the quadrangle and corridors of the Museum were strewn with countless fragments of carved stone. The assemblage of antiquities now on view is known as Broadley's Collection. Mr. Broadley was some twenty years ago the subdivisional officer of Behar, and in his zeal to preserve the ancient sculptures that abounded in his jurisdiction, he gathered together a selection of the specimens he found. But unfortunately his good intentions yielded merely a miscellany of unarranged and unclassified curiosities. Separated from their surroundings, with nothing to indicate the places from which they were removed, they have been shorn of much of their value. A few have been with considerable difficulty traced to their original position, but the bulk of the collection must leave unsaid the tale they would have told had they been found *in situ*. Mr. Broadley, however, seems to have regarded his repertory in the light of private property, for he bequeathed the collection to his official successor Babu Bimla Charn Bhattacharjea, the sub-divisional officer of Bihar and of Newadeh, and an ardent antiquarian. Bimla Babu deposited Broadley's Museum in the Baily Serai, and did much towards its extension. But he was transferred from the district

towards the close of 1879, and on his departure he made the collection over to the local municipality. That august body, however, counted among its members no antiquarian enthusiast, and the ill-fated Broadley Collection was left to care for itself. But in the Bailey Serai was to be found only a small fraction of the ancient sculptures and inscriptions with which the locality abounds. Behar is the birth-place of Buddhism. Its villages known as Rajgir, Bara-gaon, Girzek, Titrawan, Ghosrain and Pawappuri are the sites of the capital of king Bimbissara, of the ancient Nalanda, and of other cities in Magadha. In truth it marks the region whose capital was the time-renowned Pataliputra. The student of history will, therefore, attach special importance to the Buddhistic relics to be found in the district. The commingled Brahminical and Buddhistic styles and sculptures reveal a story of eld in which the rivalry and struggle of the two religious systems may be detected. The mural remains are therefore unique in their intrinsic and extrinsic worth: Dr. Burgess, the archæological expert regarded them as the largest and most valuable of any in India, but his slight knowledge of North India renders his opinion of little value. General Cunningham, with his life-long experience of Hindustan, has expatiated on their merits in no illiberal language. Time and clime have joined with more ruthless man to disfigure many a carved image, and to dismantle many a shrine. The delicate work of the chisel has occasionally been all but obliterated by exposure to the elements. Domesticated animals and poultry roam over the historic piles. Idle and ignorant shepherd-boys sharpen their bill hooks on the sculptured surfaces and thrust their crooks into crevices and cracks, and mischievously chip off portions of cornices, ears and fingers. The hideous-howling jackal skulks amid the crumbling monuments of ancient Time, and the venomous viper entwines its lithè coil about crumbling base-ments and tottering columns. But more destructive than these is the Muhammedan. An iconoclast by religion, he has not failed on the emblems of Physiolatry to leave stern evidence of his disapprobation. There are scars upon the bodies and limbs of the stone deities that tell of insult inspired by fanaticism. And yet the spirit of profanation is withal strangely combined with an instinctive utilitarianism. Several *tumuli* have been employed as tombs, while the bricks of more have been used for the construction of tenements for the followers of the Prophet. A few miles from Burragaon, is the village of Islampore. It has been built entirely of pilfered materials. Nor is this the entire tale of barbarism. Avaricious Zemindars in their greed for mammon,

recklessly open *stupas* and dig deep for secreted wealth. Their operations are not conducted so as to spare what might conveniently be let alone, but rather to demolish whatever they can lay hands upon. Stone door-ways are deported bodily to serve the end for which they were created—not in a fane or a mausoleum, but in some miserable cattle-pen. The effigies of Buddha are removed to *Sacella*, and there worshipped as one or another of the deities in the Hindu Pantheon. On every side Vandalism runs riot, and if the destructive proclivities of the inhabitants are not checked, we may soon expect “chaos and dark night” so far the intelligent reading of surviving monuments is concerned.

A *stupa* at Baibhar may be taken to illustrate what may be reasonably expected if arrestive measures are not put into force. But before narrating the chapter of calamities that have fallen to its lot, a few words are necessary by way of introducing the locality. Baibhar is one of the hills that enclose Old Rajgriha (Radzagio), once the capital of the Asura King Jarasandha. Rajgriha and the Baibhar Hills are intimately associated with the life and doctrines of Buddha. The Siamese biography of this great teacher says,\*

“He entered the city, and visited each house he came to, that he might receive alms. Astounded at his beauty, the people crowded round him, wondering who it might be. Some said ‘Surely it is the moon flowing from the Ravanaso Asura Rahu, how else can we account for his radiant glory?’ Others made various guesses, but they could come to no conclusion. So they went and told Bimbisara, King of Rajgriha, that there was a being in the city, whose beauty made them doubt whether he were not an angel. Then the King, looking from a window of his palace, saw him, and, filled with astonishment gave orders to ascertain who he might be, saying, ‘Follow him! If he is not a human being, he will disappear, when he leaves the city; if he is an angel, he will fly through the air; if he is a snake-king, he will sink into the earth; but if a man, he will remain and eat his food.’”

“The Grand Being who was approaching Buddhahip, calmly continued his work, regarding but the small space of earth around him, and having collected sufficient food, he left the city by the same gate he had entered it.

“He passed on to the Banthawa Hills, and sitting down on the summit of a lofty rock, he looked at the food collected in his pan.

“He—who had ever been accustomed to the most dainty meats, the most refined delicacies—looked at the mixed mess in

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\* “Life of Buddha” translated from Siamese by Alabaster, p. 135.



the pot, and loathed it ; he could scarcely swallow it. Yet even this caused no wish to return to his city and his palace.

"He reflected on the foulness of his own body, and ate without further aversion. He finished his meal ; rinsed his mouth ; washed his pan ; replaced it in his wallet, and seated himself on the rocky cliff, in a position of contemplation.

"Then the officers who had been set to watch him, returned and told king Bimbisara, that he was certainly a man. The king desired to converse with him ; called for his royal palankeen, and, attended by a great train of noblemen and soldiers, went forth to seek him in the Banthawa Hills.

"Sitting on a rocky slab, the king gazed with delight at the Grand Being, and observed the grace of his manners, and thus addressed him :—

'Man of beauty, whence comest thou ?'

'Most excellent lord, I am come from the country of Sakya.'

'From what Sakya country ?'

'From the royal city, Kapila.'

"The king continued to question him as to his caste, family and name, and was informed in answer, that he was of the royal race of the Sakyas, the son of Suddho-dana, and named Siddhartha.

"Now, king Bimbisara and prince Siddhartha were on most friendly terms. Though they had never met, and did not know each other by sight, they were in the constant habit of exchanging presents as tokens of good-will, and when the Grand Being announced his name, the king was assured, beyond all doubt, by his admirable manners and language, that it was none other than his friend.

"He reflected that, perhaps, the prince had fled from his country on account of some family quarrel, and, under that impression, invited him to share his power—to rule half the great country of Magadha. Then the Grand Being told him the reason ; the object, for which he had resigned the empire of the world. He told him of the four sights that had influenced his thoughts, and of his determination to achieve the omniscient Buddhahood. And the king having obtained from him a promise, that after the attainment of omniscience, he would first teach in Rajagriha, did homage, and returned to his city."

It is quite certain that Buddha did not teach first at Rajagriha, but it was to New Rajagriha that his remains were brought, and buried by king Adzatattha. The following account of the post-obsequies—to call them such in the absence of better terminology—is from the translation of the Burmese life of Buddha by Bishop Bigandet.

" King Adzatathat ordered a beautiful and well levelled road, eight oothabas broad, to be made from the city of Kuthinaram to that of Radzagio. The distance is twenty-five youdzamas. He wished to adorn it in all its length, in the same manner as the Malla princes had done for the road leading from the place that had been decorated with all sorts of ornaments, to that where the relics had been deposited. At fixed and proper distances, houses were built for rest and spending the night. The king attended by a countless crowd of people, went to take the relics and carry them into his country. During the journey, singing, dancing, and playing of musical instruments went on without cessation. Offerings of perfumes and flowers were incessantly made by the people. At certain intervals they stopped for seven days, when fresh honors were paid to the relics, in the midst of the greatest rejoicings. In this manner seven months and seven days were employed in going over the distance between the two countries. At Radzagio, the relics were deposited in a place prepared for that purpose, and a dzedis was erected on them. The seven other kings built also dzedis over the relics they had obtained. Dauna built one also over the golden vessel, and the Mauria kings erected likewise a religious monument over the coals. Thus there were at that time ten dzedis.

" When this was all over, the great Kathaba, fearing yet for the safety of the precious relics, went to King Adzatathat and said to him that precautions were to be taken for securing the preservation of the relics. The king asked him by what means all the relics could be had from those that had obtained them. Kathaba replied that he would know how to manage such a delicate affair. He went to the seven kings who gave him all the principal relics, keeping by themselves only what was strictly necessary to be deemed an object of worship and good-will towards Buddha's person. One exception was made in favour of the relics deposited in the village of Rama, because they were, in future times, to be carried to Ceylon and placed in the great wira or Pagoda. All the relics having been brought to Radzagio, Kathaba took with him the relics and went out of the city. He directed his steps in a south-east direction, loaded with this precious burden, which he carried all the way. Having reached a certain spot, he made this prayer: ' May all the rocks and stones of this place disappear, and there be in place thereof a fine sandy desert or soil; may water never issue from this spot.' Adzatathat ordered the soil to be dug very deep. With the earth bricks were made and eight dzedis were built. The depth of the hole was eighty cubits.

Its bottom was lined with iron bars. To that bottom was lowered a monastery made of bars, similar in shape and proportion to the great wira of Ceylon. Six gold boxes containing the precious relics were placed in this monastery. Each box was enclosed in one of silver, the latter in one adorned with precious stones, and so on, until eight boxes were placed in the other. There also were arranged 550 statues, representing Buddha in 550 preceding existences, described in the sacred writings; the statues of 80 great disciples, with those of Thudandana and Maia. There also were arranged 500 lamps of gold and 500 lamps of silver, filled with the most fragrant oil, with wicks made of the richest cloth. The great Kathaba taking a leaf of gold, wrote the following words upon it:—'In after times, a young man named Piadatha shall ascend the throne, and become a great and renowned monarch under the name of Athoka. Through him, the relics shall be spread all over the island of Dzapondeba.' King Adzatathat made new offerings of flowers and perfumes. All the doors of the monastery were shut and fastened with an iron bolt. Near the last door, he placed a large ruby, upon which the following words were written:—'Let the poor king who shall find this ruby present it to the relics.' A Thagia ordered a Nat to watch over the precious deposit. The Nat disposed around it figures, the most hideous and terrifying, armed with swords. The whole was encompassed by six walls made of stone and bricks; a large slab of stone covered the upper part, and upon it he built a small dzedi."

But more than being associated merely with the story of Buddha's renunciation, Rajagriha is the spot at which the Doctrines of the Enlightened One were formulated, before his new religion was carried by missionaries to remote lands.

In the slopes of Mount Baibhar are numerous grottos and caves. The largest of them was called Sattapanni. Beside this chamber, designed and completed by the unseen hand of Nature, was held Pitzasatika Sangarana, the first convocation, at which the Canon of Buddhism was authoritatively enacted. It was summoned by Maha Kasyapa under the auspices of King Adzatathat, sovereign of Rajagriha. It assembled in the 148 year of the Eetzana era, the year of Gautama's death, on a Monday, the first of the waxing moon of Tabaong. From it dates the Buddhistic epoch, beginning from the full moon of Wakhaong (August).

From the above facts it will be readily seen that Baibhar is intimately connected with Buddha. The *stupa* whose calamities I have now to recount, may, for aught we know, be one of the ten that Ajatasatru placed over the remains of the Grand Being. In any

case it certainly marks the site of some important event in the life of Gautama, or in the progress of his religion. A road-contractor was the first that assailed it. He was informed that beneath was a well stored with treasure. His cupidity was awakened, and he sank a shaft to a depth of 17 feet, but, to his great disappointment, he found nothing. The next to tamper with its integrity was General Cunningham; but his were excavations conducted professionally, and in a spirit of research, and not of wanton curiosity. He relates that he sank a shaft outside the Maniar Moth with the intention of gradually inclining towards the centre, but, he continues, "I soon found that the core of the mound was a mere mass of rubbish, filling a well 10 feet in diameter. This rubbish was so loose, that its removal was dangerous; but by propping up the portion immediately below the temple, and cautiously removing the bricks, I was enabled to get down to a depth of  $21\frac{1}{2}$  feet." This ill-fated tope did not escape the notice of Mr. Broadley. He made an excavation on the north side of the *tumulus* and uncovered a considerable portion of that side. The door-way appeared to him to have been surmounted by a long basalt slab, containing figures twelve inches in height. The last and most destructive raid made upon it brings us to within a few months. The perpetrator is a Jain. His religious ardour recently found an escape for itself in the erection of *Dharamsala* for his co-religionists. But he would be spared all unnecessary outlay, and acquire a coveted reputation for piety, without paying too much for the luxury. He accordingly set about extracting from the walls of the *stupa* all the bricks available, and sought them even in the very foundations of the structure!

It is to preserve the typical mural antiquities of Behar from such scandalous treatment that the Bailey Serai collection has been brought to the Indian Museum.

It will not, perhaps, be uninteresting in conclusion to mention a few of the sculptures which are now on view.

#### • • BRAHMINICAL.

DURGA with her four arms, attended by two gandharvas and other figures.

Four-armed VISHNU, with two gandharvas above, and a male and a female attendant below.

GANESHA being trampled upon by a goddess. On her right stands a page holding an umbrella

VISHNU in his ten incarnations.

GANESHA with his six arms, represented as dancing.

KALI seated, with MAHADEVA below.

BRAHMA, with his three faces, standing.

INDRANI seated with vajra in her right hand and an elephant on either side.

Four-armed DURGA, with GANESHA and SINGA above, and tiger, dog and trees below. On the pedestal is a crocodile (?)

Pyramidal *sahasra lingam* enshrined in a niche.

Chapiter with GANESHA, SURYA, VISHNU and MAHADEVA on the four faces.

VISHNU with his inner hands resting on the heads of votaries.

#### BUDDHISTIC.

Seated figure with conical cap, right hand holding manuscripts.

BUDDHA standing.

BUDDHA in Nirvana. On the pedestal there are three figures. In the back ground there is a *stupa* and two trees.

Prince SIDDHARTHA on horse-back and holding an umbrella. Above are nine figures and below two. On the pedestal are five soldiers.

BUDDHA under Bodhi tree (*figus religiosa*).

BUDDHA as an ascetic.

BUDDHA in his attitude of meditation. About him are ascetics. Above is the Bodhi tree, and four figures at the side. The upper face bears an inscription, and below is a row of seated Buddhas.

BUDDHA seated on a stool and preaching.

Six votive *stupas*.

#### TAUNTRIC-BUDDHISTIC.

BODDHISWATTA with six arms and an inscribed pedestal.

The goddess, PADMAPANI, seated. On her left is a lotus, and on her right a *stupa*.

BUDDHISWATA, with eight arms, preaching.

Bust of four-armed BODDHISWATTA.

Niche with four-armed female, holding an umbrella.

Two-armed DEVI—PADMAPANI standing, with five Buddhas above and two female attendants below. The pedestal is inscribed and is highly ornamented.

BUDDHA standing. Inscription above, also umbrella and two seated Buddhas. At his side are BRAHMA with his three heads, and another figure holding an umbrella.

HERBERT A. STARK, B.A.

*THE PAST AND FUTURE OF OUR PLANET.*

Yes, Nature's road must ever be preferred;  
 Reason is here no guide, but still a guard.  
 A mightier power the strong direction sends,  
 And several men impels to several ends.  
 He, who through vast immensity can pierce,  
 Sees worlds on worlds compose one universe,  
 Observe how system into system runs,  
 What other planets circle other suns.  
 God in the nature of each being founds,  
 Its proper bliss, and sets its proper bounds.—POPE.

In dealing with a subject so vast and comprehensive one naturally feels dismayed considering the eons of time past and as yet to come, which it embraces, the cycles of changes—I had almost said infinite—which it has undergone and will undergo, the want of data to reason with and the depth of obscurity in which those periods lie—immeasurable and incomprehensible. But we take courage from our predecessors, many of whom have left us volumes devoted to their respective theories. Much, however, as their labours encourage us in our work, do they in like proportion discourage and startle us on account of the diversity of their views and inferences, great as were those authors in this particular branch of knowledge. Laplace believed and taught that by the contraction of a great rotating nebulous mass, our Earth gradually assumed its present size and form. According to other authorities it was formed by a process of accretion due to the indrawing of great flights of meteoric and cometic matter; my own theory embraces both the foregoing, showing the epochs when the two obtained.

Students of Astronomy have read of the sword of Orion and other irregular nebulae, of the enormous quantities of gaseous matter composing each, extending over millions of miles and sufficient to form many such systems as our own with their suns and planets. The beautiful defining powers of our new telescopes, along with the wonderful spectroscope, have placed these facts beyond the pale of doubt. Again we are taught that all bodies

have either an *energy of position or of motion*, and that no form of matter, whether gaseous or earthy, is inert, all or generally all having a rotatory motion. In the case of flat surfaces as of nebulous masses, such a motion is inconceivable; there seems to be, however, one of lapping and inhering or like the rolling of a sheet or canvas, which in process of time assumes a globular form, but this is after ages of rotation, its primary form being somewhat similar to a bale of cloth though quite round with flattened sides.

Masses so formed of radiant energy are some large and some small according to the length and breadth and depth of the gases from and by which each is formed; their size being also dependent on accidental causes, no less too on the attraction of other rotating globes which cause some of them to be torn asunder from the nebula at a certain stage of their growth or formation. These roll away into space and ultimately by the force of gravitation and counter attraction of one and another system, get located, so to speak, within definite areas and there they remain ever after rotating and revolving round the largest body within a certain distance, such for instance as the planets round our sun, the moons around Saturn and Jupiter, and our moon around the Earth. Then begins a gradual cooling of the radiant spheres, first one, then another, according to the relative size of and period in which each was formed. Thus millions of years must have glided by when finally the surface of the Moon grew cold and hard and perhaps habitable; then as her life slowly ebbed, the Earth from a molten mass cooled and hardened and became fit, first for vegetable, and then for animal life, and lastly for man. In those ages distant and, I may well say, incalculable, mighty forests flourished, died, and were buried at great depths beneath the ever-increasing crust of the Earth's surface ever increasing by meteoric and cometic matter settling on the outside, and by a process of cooling and hardening on the inside of our planet. In varying depths and in different parts of the earth we have the remains of enormous tracts of the densest vegetation that the surface of our globe has ever had, in the form of coal which we are lavishly using, which took thousands of years to form, and which will, at the present rate of consumption, be exhausted in twelve or fifteen hundred years. "That period may seem long," says Proctor, "compared with the life of individual men, long even compared with the duration of any nation in the height of power; but though men and nations pass away, the human race continues, and a thousand years are as less than a day in the history of that race. Looking forward to that day seemingly so remote, but (on the side upon which we are,

at present tracing our earth's history) in reality the *to-morrow* of our earth, we see that either a change in their mode of living will be forced on the human race, or else it will then have become possible, as your (addressing the Americans) Eriesson has already suggested, to make the Sun's heat the mainspring of the machinery of civilization." Before then, it is scarcely to be doubted, we shall have, indeed, we have it now in a crude form, electricity to supplement, if not to supplant coal as a heat and light-giving energy; and it may so be with all our wants, one thing may give place to another as yet unknown. These new conditions might obtain in every place and condition of our existence, through countless millions of years, through changes as, if not more, various and diversified than our planet has ever undergone. Though eternal, it follows not, however, that the Earth shall continue a fit abode for beings such as we are, such as are the brutes and the various kinds of plants. For the sterile nature of the Moon is evidence enough to show, that the Earth too, like her, will one day, or must sooner or later, become as barren and as unfit to maintain a blade of grass, being as she is now without a drop of moisture and with absolutely nothing wherewith to maintain the simplest, the lowest form of organism. That such a fate shall overtake this planet is certain, the following facts will abundantly establish.

The Sun, like the Moon and the Earth, is slowly but too surely losing his heat\*; it may take him a considerable time to cool but that day, whenever it comes, must be for our planet a time-present an awful epoch, mighty and dire, bringing in its train death and destruction to all creatures and to every type of life, simple or complex, reasoning, instinctive or merely sentient, crustacea or vegetable, man or monad—

All, all to one common end consigned

Whose parallel there is none to find.

But leaving this certainty aside, which is, indeed, very far distant, perhaps thousands of millions of years, is there not another

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\* Doubtless a small army of meteors may be falling into our luminary, which would by this fall tend to augment his heat; yet the supply from this source must surely be insignificant. But if the sun be not at present condensing so to derive any sufficient heat from this process, and if this energy be very sparingly recruited from without, it necessarily follows that he is in the position of a man whose expenditure exceeds his income. He is living upon his capital, and is destined to share the fate of all who act in a similar manner. We must, therefore, contemplate a future period when he will be poorer in energy than he is at present and a period still further in the future when he will altogether cease to shine. *The Conservation and Dissipation of Energy* by Balfour Stewart, L. L. M.



which, when compared with it, is within a measurable distance of time? The death which has overtaken the Moon, that death which she has died while the sun of her system still lives!

Before we proceed further, let us pause awhile to consider in what consists a planet's life (apart from the nourishment it receives from the Sun, and other sources external to itself)—in other words, the Earth's inherent vitality. I have said that the Earth was once instinct with heat, was, in fact, a glowing mass even as the Sun is, that it gradually cooled, and after indefinite cycles of change, began to be the abode of organic being. I must now draw attention to volcanic energies that have so often from the dawn of history, down to our own times, filled us with alarms, nay destroyed and swallowed entire cities, too numerous, and too well known to need mention here.\* Beneath the thick and hardened crust on which we live, is species of molten matter, aglow with heat, which now here, now there, at intervals, manifests itself in fierce explosions or irruptions, emanating as it were from the very bowels of the Earth. The Earth's crust too has a certain amount of inherent heat, besides what it receives from the Sun; the distribution of which the surface obtains by the rotation of the planet on its own axis causing the internal molten matter to agitate and flow more rapidly thus acquiring more heat and bursting forth through one or another of the Earth's weak points or natural ducts or valves.

Now each and every such discharge, whatever local good or evil it may cause, is assuredly an irreparable loss to the vitality of the Earth by the enormous quantities of both original and acquired heat that is lost; for what once escapes from the planet never returns and never can return to it. This internal heat, be it observed, gives to the crust a portion of its warmth, the Sun another portion, but these two sources are capricious and will cease one day; whereas the heat that it gets by rotation and revolution is constant and what I shall call heat in equilibrium. But then like the heat of the Sun, it is not sufficient to maintain the life of our planet. There must be internal heat to preserve its life, just as, when fire and water are in an engine there is a certain life-like motion and it has a kind of vitality, but which, when drawn out, leave the engine an inert motionless substance that may be moved but cannot move of itself. The moon is void of such life,

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\* Krakatow, in Java is an instance within living memory, when about 29,000 persons perished in three days.

although she receives the Sun's heat as also that by friction with the atmosphere in her rotation and revolution.

We have seen three sources of heat affecting our planet and instead of consuming it they are its life and soul. Any one of these, when withdrawn, must result in the destruction of the human race, if not of every living thing. The question hence is, why or how is it that these fierce potentialities do not destroy the Earth and all that is in it? The question at first sight seems unanswerable, but a little thought will suffice to show the wonder-stricken wherein lies our preservation. All of us have read of the division of land and water. To one-third of the former, we have two-thirds of the latter. It is this element, water, which by its peculiar properties and incessant changes from one condition to another, counteracts the three species of heat and is itself converted now into ice, now into steam, now into gases, again into clouds and rain so useful and indispensable to man and beast alike. As it tends to preserve our lives, so does it contribute to and materially sustain the life of our planet. But for it, the Earth must have resembled "the arid wastes which the astronomer recognizes in the lunar surface."

Let the reader look at a map, say, of Asia or any continent he likes. He will notice hundreds of streams intersecting the Earth's crust, some narrow, some broad with beautiful minor ramifications. Then let him open any illustrated work on Physiology and he will be struck by the disposition of the blood-vessels in their resemblance to these streams. Still further will the comparison hold good. The exterior surface of our planet's crust will appear to him as the skin, the various layers of earth as the flesh, the hills and mountains as the bones (rising out as they do from the interior of the earth), the lakes, rivers and seas, the cutaneous blood-vessels, and the molten oceans beneath the crust, the *aorta* and its many branches. When then any of these arteries burst and large quantities of life-matter flow out through the crust in the shape of volcanic discharges, it follows that what has so escaped is lost to the Earth for ever; since, unlike organism, it neither eats nor drinks, although it may and does absorb heat and moisture. But this absorption is confined to the surface and never extends to any great depth. The Earth is like a vessel on a voyage with provisions to last her for an unlimited number of years, (at least, the time appears so to our finite conceptions), besides which, from two ports (the only two she touches on her long voyage) she receives material and additional provisions for her passengers and crew; but for herself she can get no coal beyond what she has.

and is perpetually using. What follows? after travelling for countless ages her coal runs out, she has no sails, and she is suddenly becalmed and perhaps ice-bound. Slowly the provisions begin to fail on board and now one, then another of the many passengers fall victims to starvation and exposure, till all perish from off that vessel, till the vessel herself crumbles away. But "long after the earth shall have ceased to be the abode of life, other and nobler orbs will become in their turn fit to support millions of forms, as well of animal as of vegetable existence. Even these shall pass away each after its due season of life. One orb alone will then remain on which life will be possible. The Sun, the source whence life had been sustained in all those other worlds." Then, perhaps, after a "lifeless interval," the time will come when the Sun himself will be the abode of organic life and activity. "We may even look onwards to still more distant changes seeing the solar system is itself moving on an orbit, though the centre round which it travels is so distant that as yet it remains unknown." It is notwithstanding the scientific belief that there are series on series of combinations, passing upwards to ever higher orders "from planets to suns, from suns to sun-systems, from sun-systems to galaxies, from galaxies to systems of galaxies, and from these to higher and higher orders absolutely without end. The wave of life which is now passing over our Earth is but a ripple in the sea of life within the solar system; this sea of life is itself but as a wavelet on the ocean of eternal life throughout the universe." *Ah! how inconceivable, yet how true!* "Seemingly the time, space matter, and motion life embraced are Infinite,—how wise and oh! how mighty must He be who formed all these from nothing!\*" .

C. J. WHINCOP SMITH.

\* *Our Place Among Infinities*, by R. A. Proctor, page 32.

NOTE.—Gravitation is said to be the attraction of one particle for another, each for each, according to the mass of the attracting and of the attracted particle, and varying inversely as square of the distance between the two. But this, while it explains the action of gravitation, does not explain what it in itself is, or whence it derives its force. The Why of the question is self-evident but the How remains unaccounted for. The manner in which Gravitation acts is explained, but the cause of the attraction is not explained. As for instance to the question,—How is the locomotive put in motion?—the answer would be,—By the machinery turning in a certain way swift or slow. But this, surely, does not give us an idea of the power that puts the machinery and the wheels in motion, or of the fact that Steam is the motive power by and with which the locomotive is (so to speak) made to move at the will of the driver.

It may then well be asked,—What causes every particle to attract every other particle? Now, if we reason from analogy we shall be as far from the truth as black is from white or white from black; for, although a magnet has an inherent power of attraction for steel, a brick or a mound of earth has not any such attraction for another such brick or mound. "It takes the mass of the whole earth to produce the force with which we are so familiar at its surface, and the presence of a large mass of rock or mountain does not produce any appreciable difference in the weight of any substance. Gravitation, therefore, is a very weak force capable of acting at a distance, or at least of appearing to do so." From this it seems obvious and reasonable to infer that the attraction, mass for mass, is due not to any inherent cause or power in the masses, but lies outside, above and around the rotating masses called planets. What then is that force which causes the seeming attraction of mass for mass? It is due, first, to the rotation of the earth on its own axis, and, secondly, to its annual motion round the sun. It is nothing more than the pressure on every inch, nay every particle, of the earth's mass caused by its rotation and revolution through other and unknown gases which fill space, and through which all bodies are ever travelling. In other words, it is the constant or perpetual resistance that bodies meet with in their rotation and in journey through space.

But it may be said that if such were the case nothing could exist on the earth's surface. This, however, is explained by the fact of our having an envelope of the depth of 50 miles around our planets' surface. Our earth, in turning on its axis, as well as in travelling round the sun, causes the elements through which it is passing to be repelled, and a vacuum is thus formed which is as quickly filled with oxygen and nitrogen in the proportion of 20·9 parts of the former to 79·1 of the latter. It has also a little carbonic acid, and a variable quantity of watery vapour all which, form the atmosphere of the earth.

Owing to the earth's diurnal motion being from west to east, the pressure between the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn is greatest, and that at the poles least.

The atmosphere on each side of the equator is an immense wheel, which, is ever expanding and getting lighter by the heat of the sun radiating from the earth; hence sidereal pressure (east and west) presses the colder and heavier side in the polar regions (north and south) when they are condensed.

But it will be objected that if my explanation were true the north and south poles would have very little of attraction, particle for particle. My answer is that this is actually so, and the crumbling away of planets is thus to be accounted for. Why then is the earth not crumbling at those points? Because it has moisture and more water than land; and so long as things continue thus, the rushing incoming ether at the poles, through the centre or axes of the wheels, will always condense the atmosphere, and the waters of the Arctic and Antarctic seas, thus binding and holding the earth together, and keeping it from passing into meteoric streams gushing out of the poles.

C. W. S.

## THE LAY OF ROLAND.

[*From the French of Duval.*]

Where speed those gallant knights,—the pride,  
The hope, the stay of France?  
—To meet their foes they hotly ride,  
With gleaming sword and lance.  
Roland,—the bravest of the brave,  
Leads them to battle, where  
Death ever waits upon his glaive,  
And reaps a harvest rare.  
Soldiers! to Roland raise the song  
Fling to the foe that name,  
And let the hills your shout prolong,  
“For Country and for Fame!”

Already countless squadrons dress  
Their ranks the hills below,  
I see around their standards press.  
The leaders of the foe.  
Frenchmen! It is for *them* to quake,  
For you the triumph high;  
Lo! Roland arms himself, he'll make  
The cravens turn and fly.  
Soldiers! to Roland, &c.

Mark his white plumes! Where-e'er he'll lead,  
Follow his path of flame,  
And honor's crown will be your meed,  
Glory and deathless fame.—  
On, on,—the foe, ere eventide,  
Tho' strong, must yield or flee,  
For Roland combats by your side,  
He'll lead to victory.  
Soldiers! to Roland, &c.

Who count their foes are cowards,—you  
Will ever do and dare,  
Tho' legions they, yourselves so few,  
Your hearts know not despair.  
Like Roland be in fight or fray,  
He knows not how to yield,  
He never counts his foes till they  
Lie cold upon the field.  
Soldiers ! to Roland, &c.

Sudden his horn for aid appeals,  
Above the battle's roar,  
—My God ! Upon his steed he reels,  
His armour's stain'd with gore.  
Stretch'd on the dank, ensanguin'd plain,  
His spirit soon is free,  
Woe worth the day on which was slain  
The flower of chivalrie !  
Raise, raise the song of triumph high,  
Shout loud brave Roland's name ;  
Thrice happy he who thus can die,  
“ For Country and for Fame ! ”

O. C. DUTT.

## REVIEW.

### *The "New Star"*

Is, metaphorically, a "beacon bright and fair," which promises to lend its light on various subjects of importance, social, moral, commercial and political; and it is, literally, a weekly newspaper of noble aspirations, independent thought and unbiased opinion. This journal is mature in its infancy, for it is already well established, enjoying a good circulation, and anticipating a still wider popularity; and there is apparently very little doubt of its success considering the very low rates of subscription at which it is offered. To use a commercial phrase it is very good value for the money.

The copy before us contains some very able "leaders," notably the one headed "The poorness of our country." The facts contained therein are undeniable, and we certainly second the idea that our national character should be maintained. A departure from it, would simply that we are ashamed of the manners, customs, habits and dress of our forefathers. But why? Are there any tangible reasons for it? None that we can see or know of.

The other articles are also good, and certainly maintain the object of the paper. They are fearless and bold yet quite within proper bounds.

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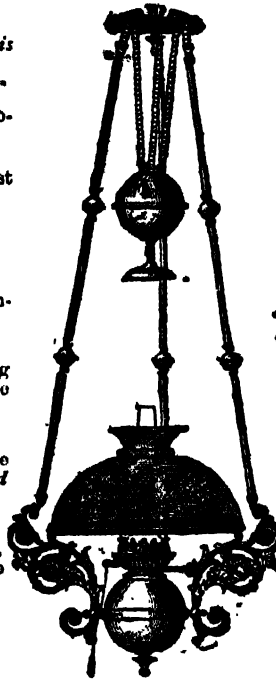
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# THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE

## NEW SERIES.

No. 7.—JULY 1892.

### *THE CHOWKIDARI ACT.*

#### A DIFFICULTY AND ITS SOLUTION.

The difficulty in obtaining proper men for the village Panchyet is the only real and practical difficulty felt in working the Chowkidari Act properly. It is stated that respectable villagers avoid being enrolled as members of the Panchyet. Men who are now appointed members are often found unfit for their work. They take little interest in repressing crime in their villages. They have no real and efficient control over the Chowkidars. They are irregular in paying the Chowkidars' wages. And they have even been known to obtain receipts of full payment from Chowkidars without paying the full wages. These are some of the charges brought against our village Panchyets, and the charges are not altogether unfounded.

The system under which the members of the village Panchyet are now selected makes a selection of proper men almost impossible. Little agricultural villages with a hundred houses or more are formed into Chowkidari Unions. The population of such villages is almost purely agricultural. Cultivators, with no education of any kind, and no position in the village society, are selected as members. If one of them knows how to read and write he is made the *Tahsil Panchyet*, i.e., the member entrusted with the collection of taxes and the payment of the Chowdikars' wages. As a body the Panchyet is under the influence of the Police, fears

the Police, and considers itself to some extent to be under the orders of the Police. The Panchyet helps the Police in obtaining clue in cases, in investigating into cases, in securing the attendance of witnesses, and in obtaining confessions from suspected offenders, when directed by the Police to do so. In offences for which Police officers are sometimes punished, the Panchyet is not unoften implicated. Bribe is sometimes paid to Police officers through members of the Panchyet, and they have been known to help in confining and using force to supposed criminals to extort confession.

The few facts mentioned above will shew the position of the village Panchyet. Ignorant cultivators, entrusted with collecting taxes and paying the Chowkidars, and helping the Police in enquiries and investigations, cannot be much better than they are. And unfortunately in most villages which have been formed into Chowkidari Unions, we can select no better men than such ignorant cultivators,—substantial riots, but with no education and possessing no influence.

The obvious solution to this difficulty is to widen the limits of the Chowkidari Union. The remedy is suggested in the Local Self-Government Act which was framed by some of the ablest men of the Bengal Civil Service, like Mr. Reynolds, and the late Mr. Macaulay. They perceived with a clear knowledge of the circumstances of the province that in order to have any kind of village organization fit for important work, we must group villages together into Village-Unions, and select men of some education, influence, and a character for honesty, as members of the Union Committees.

Ten or twelve or fifteen contiguous villages may be grouped as a Village-Union. In such a Union we can select men of position and some education to form a respectable and really useful committee. Village talukdars, school masters, traders and mahajans, village physicians, gurus and priests may be selected within such an area to form a committee which will command respect, perform its duties efficiently, and help us in administrative work. Such Committees will not be the servants of the Police, but will help the Police efficiently in checking crimes in the neighbourhood, and will help Government in important matters like primary education, village communication and village sanitation.

At the last Census, villages were thus grouped for the facility of census work. We may take these groups as the basis on which to proceed. Local officers have sufficient experience to rectify mistakes then made, so that all the villages within a group may

in every instance lie within three or four miles from a common centre. Within such a compact area, a Union-Committee, wisely chosen, will be of the greatest service, both to the people and to the administrators.

An average large District in Bengal has some twenty Thanas comprised within say four Sub-divisions. We will say each Sub-division has five Thanas. The area within the jurisdiction of each Thana may be parcelled off into ten or twelve Village Unions. In this way we shall have between fifty or sixty Village Unions under the supervision of a Sub-divisional Officer, and under the orders of a Sub-divisional Local Board.

These fifty or sixty Unions and their Committees will be really useful to the Local Boards. Each Committee, constituted as I have indicated before, will keep the village roads in order within the Union, reserve a few large tanks and good wells for the supply of drinking water, maintain a few good pathshalas for the education of all the boys of the Union who chose to come, supervise the Vernacular or English middle school in the Union, superintend the pounds and ferries, represent the pressing wants of the vicinity to the Local Board, and see that the money allotted by the Local Board to the area of the Union for roads, &c., is wisely and profitably spent. Local Boards which now work for large Sub-divisions will get the utmost help from such organized local bodies thoroughly acquainted with the circumstances of their smaller areas, and really representing the needs and the wishes of the people. And the Government will find in them an agency, which does not now exist in the country, to carry out such simple rules and instructions as may be framed from time to time for the primary education of the masses, for village sanitation, and for the supply of pure drinking water to villagers.

The Committees will also be greatly useful to the Police. A body consisting of respectable talukdars, schoolmasters and other men of position and character may be entrusted to supervise the work of the Chowkidars, and to insist that they perform their duty, repress crime, and look after bad characters on dark nights. Responsible and respectable bodies are amenable to the salutary influences of praise and blame; and Union Committees, constituted as stated above, will endeavour to earn the approbation of Sub-divisional Officers by repressing crime, by tracing out criminals, and by giving prompt information of offences committed. In the presence of such respectable bodies the dishonesty of the lower Police force will to some extent be checked, and judicial officers will have a trustworthy agency, such as does not now exist in

the province, to help them in making enquiries and ascertaining the truth in matters which are within their knowledge.

The help which Committees so constituted can render to Sub-divisional Officers and District Officers in the work of general administration cannot be overrated. They will form a link between the people and their administrators such as does not now exist. There is no agency now by which the Administrative Officers can reach the people; they have no real touch with the people. If the object of a proposed measure has to be explained to the people, we do it through the *Police*. If information has to be obtained about the opinions and feelings of the people about any proposed bill, we ask the *Police*. If measures have to be organized for taking census or for commencing relief operations, we work through the *Police*. If we want to send instructions for the prevention and cure of cattle disease we send pamphlets through the *Police*. If we try to induce the people to vaccinate their children, or to pay the vaccinators their fees of two annas for each child, we send purwanas to the *Police*. We send seeds for experimental cultivation through the *Police*, we learn the state of the crops and the prospects of the year through the *Police*. We ask for information about locusts and harmful insects through the *Police*, we get lists of insectivorous birds from the *Police*. We ascertain the evils done by inundations through the *Police*, we distribute cholera pills through the *Police*.

Any thing more deplorable than this our complete estrangement from the people, and this apparent want of trust and confidence in the people, it is impossible to conceive. We recognize no organized bodies among them, no leading villagers, no heads of communities. We have no real touch with the people whose wants we are paid to minister to;—we order them about through the *Police*. The people do not appreciate this medium, but we cannot help it, we have no other.

Union Committees will exactly supply us with the medium of which every District and Sub-divisional Officer has felt the want, of dealing directly with the people in matters in which such direct and friendly intercourse is desirable. Every Sub-divisional Officer has to be on tour for four months in the year, and within that time he can personally visit most of the fifty or sixty Unions in his Sub-division. He will encourage them in their laudable endeavours to improve their Unions, he will correct their mistakes, he will settle their differences, he will advise them where advice is needed. He can in a friendly way give much useful and salutary instruction for their guidance. More than this, he will in this way come

in real touch with the people, know their wishes and their wants, and deal with them directly, as an administrator should deal with the people in his charge. All the Committees will be known to him, their leading and public-spirited members will be ambitious to secure his approval, their works if creditable and good will receive his praise and approbation.

Every good tank and well reserved for drinking purposes will be annually shewn to the Sub-divisional Officer with a laudable pride. Every sanitary improvement will be pointed out to him. Every village road and culvert, well and cheaply constructed, will be inspected. The best school or pathshala of the Union will be pointed out with legitimate pride. The work of the Committees during the year will thus come to the Sub-divisional Officer's notice. The merits of the members of the Committee will be known to him. They will know him as their popular chief, he will know them as his willing subordinates, trying in their humble manner to do good work within their limited areas. Patriotism like charity begins at home, and I know of no better or more practical way of shewing ones love for his own country than by useful endeavour to improve his own village.

Education has spread in the country. The people who have received education are ambitious of getting an opportunity to help us, however humbly, in administrative work. Every administrator knows that leading villagers are flattered and pleased if we ask them to co-operate with us, if we trust them with any work within their capacity. Every District and Sub-divisional Officer knows the keen interest which Bengal villagers take in their village concerns. And there is a growing and perceptible desire among the leading villagers to have some improvement done to their villages according to modern ideas,—to have good roads, to have a good supply of drinking water, to prevent water clogging, to have a good pathshala, to have vaccinators year after year sent to them, and to have their tanks cleaned annually. What shoals of petitions do we receive every year from villagers praying for the removal of the wants of their villages! What earnest appeals do we receive when we visit the villages! And yet most of these prayers are referred to this or that officer, and very little is done in many cases. It were a thousand pities if we now missed the opportunity of enlisting the help, the sympathy and the co-operation of the villagers in the work of village administration in a manner suited to the progress of the times and the wishes and the capacities of the people. It were a thousand pities if we lost this opportunity of forming a link between the administrators and the

millions of peaceful and loyal villagers whose wants we are supposed to minister to. A sympathetic recognition of the co-operation of our humble villagers, through their natural representatives, will advance the cause of our administration far more than the introduction of brand-new laws and the creation of brand-new administrative posts. Agricultural India has always governed herself through her village-communities,—and there is a practical way of keeping alive such village communities by adapting them to the requirements and the progress of the times.

The proposal of organizing Village Unions as contemplated by the Local Self-Government Act, and of placing the Chowkidars under the control of the Union Committees will not meet the wishes of the Police Department. The lower ranks of the police have no faith in the people ; they are ready to swear that all villagers are apathetic and given to concealing crime, that members of Panchyets are villains, that mahajans and talukdars are receivers of stolen property, and that in fact the mighty fabric of the British Raj and British administration is supported in its purity and efficiency in the Mofussil, only by the zeal, the trustworthiness, the sleepless watchfulness and the unstained honesty of the Police,—among the faithless, faithful only they !

Higher officers in the Police Department know the absurdity of these allegations, but nevertheless think that the salvation and regeneration of the Chowkidar can be effected only by investing him with a *lal pagree*, i.e., by bringing him under the Police Act, and making him a policeman in the eye of the law. It is maintained that the work of the Police cannot be efficiently done unless the village watchmen are legally subordinated to the Police Department.

A graver mistake cannot be committed than to dis sever the connection between the village authorities and the village watchman, and to convert the latter into Constables. In the first place, the Chowkidar is a better servant in every way than a Constable. He is more willing and obedient than a Constable. He is more careful and regular in his rounds as a village watchman than a Municipal Constable is as a town watchman. He watches bad characters in villages more carefully than the Constable does in towns. He is more in touch with the people and knows their doings better than the Constable. He is better able to obtain clue in difficult cases than the Constable. He is under the orders of the Magistrate who is the head of the Police, and is by the present law required to discharge all Police work that can be required of him reasonably. For the rest, he has his home in the village, &

holds lands in the village, is of the village,—a villager among villagers, and it would be disastrous to sever this connection and make him a Policeman under the Police Act.

The lower ranks of the Police naturally desire to have more control over him. To what extent he is even now employed by Police officers as their menial servants, in hewing wood and drawing water and carrying luggage, is not unknown to the Police authorities. To bring him more under the control of Police officers and thereby weaken his connection with the village would be, I repeat, disastrous.

But besides this there are other reasons to keep the village watchman as village watchman. Much more will have to be done for our villages, in the near future, in the way of sanitation and in other matters than we have yet done. This will require the creation of Union Committees before long, for the Police cannot undertake such duties, and there is no other agency in existence that can do it. Bengal villages are compared with the darkest places in uncivilized countries for sanitary arrangements; and abuse is poured in unmeasured terms on the Bengal villagers. Apart from exaggerations, it is necessary that the insanitary conditions of Bengal villages should be removed, and it is fair that we should allow villagers an organized agency to effect this before we pour abuse on them. I have known of an instance of a tree being thrown down by the wind across a village path and obstructing traffic for days together, and the villagers thought they had no authority to remove it till the Police came and gave an order! Is it not meet and proper that we should let villagers have some power to remove such obstructions and keep their village in order before we exclaim against their backwardness. Confidence evokes public spirit;—the legislature has yet shewn no confidence in village authorities except for the purpose of realizing taxes to pay the Chowkidars.

I have said that much work will have to be done in the near future in our villages. For this work we require the village watchmen and the Union Committees under the intelligent guidance and control of the Sub-divisional Officer. To make the village watchman a Policeman will be to make him useless to the village for other than purely criminal work. The Police Department desires this, because it cannot see beyond the duties of its own department. But the administrator and the legislator will see beyond this, and will keep the village watchman as a member and servant of the village community and the village Union, and will not convert him into a Police man pure and simple.



One more remark and I have done. We are told that the Police service is a part of the Imperial service, and no section of Policemen should be under local control. I admit the principle, but deny that Chowkidars are Policemen in this sense of the word. They were members of village communities for centuries before the British rule commenced, and as members and servants of the village Unions they have useful work to do,—let us hope for centuries to come. They were never a part of the Imperial service. They have never been paid from Imperial and Provincial funds. They have always been paid locally, appointed locally, and employed in local work. By law they are bound to help the Police in certain matters, and they have rendered that help cheerfully and willingly. But they are not a section of the regular Police, and the objection against local control does not apply to them.

But, we are told, there must be some Police in the villages to carry on the work efficiently. I admit this:—let this be done. Depute fifty or sixty Constables of the Regular Police to the fifty or sixty proposed Village-Unions in each sub-division. One half of them may be taken from the Thana force, the other half may be appointed, and will not entail an enormous expenditure. Nor is it an unpractical suggestion, for in Midnapur District, Constables and Officers always go on their rounds in villages in dark nights. The Constables so deputed will be under the orders of the Thana Officers, the Police Inspector and the District Superintendent of Police. They will wear their *lal pagree* and their blue jumper. They will act in concert with the village Chowkidars under such rules as the Magistrate and the District Superintendent of Police may frame. They will act in harmony with the Chowkidars for repressing crime, for giving information of offences committed, for arresting offenders, and for helping investigations. They will represent the Regular Police force in villages; but do not take away the village watchmen and enroll them in the Regular Police Force.

Let us see what has been done in Municipal towns. When District Magistrates were the Chairmen of Municipal towns, there was no difficulty about the Municipal Police. When non-official Chairmen were appointed, a difficulty arose. The Municipal Police, being a part of the Regular Police force, were under the orders of the District Superintendent of Police. The Municipalities which paid them could not pass any orders on them. The absurdity of the arrangement was manifest to a late Lieutenant-Governor. He could not place the Police force under the orders of the Mun-

cipalities. He therefore relieved Municipalities from the charge of paying the Police force. The anomaly was thus removed. And it is unnecessary to create an anomaly now by taking away from the village authorities their control over Chowkidars whom they pay by local taxation.

I have made these suggestions as briefly as I could, because to men who are familiar with our system of administration it is not necessary to describe facts in detail. Such men are now called upon to solve the difficulty connected with the proper working of the Chowkidars Act;—the solution lies I think in the provision made by the able and thoughtful framers of the Local Self-Government Act for the creation of Village-Unions.

R. C. DUTT, C S

## THE DESTINY OF MAN.

Like many English words, the word *Destiny* comes from the French *le destin* or *la destinée*, which, in its turn, is derived from Latin *de—stano*, Gr. *histano*, and Sanskrit *Sthānam*, meaning something set fast, fixed, or appointed. Destiny, according to its derivation, therefore, means a *state or condition fixed, or appointed, or predetermined*.

Now, what is the state or condition fixed and appointed for Man? We shall understand this better if we take one or two illustrations from natural objects.

What is the destiny of a tree, that is to say, the state or condition which it must unavoidably pass through? It is, first of all, a root; then a tiny plant; then, as it grows in size and height, it puts forth leaves and branches; and at last, it blooms, flowers, and fades. What is the destiny of an animal? It is conceived, it is born, it passes through the stages of infancy, adult life, youth, maturity, and old age, and then it dies. During all these stages, both the tree and the animal perform certain vegetative and animal functions of nutrition and reproduction, each according to its own temperament and habits. Now, what is the destiny of Man? The destiny of Man, that is to say, the two things most certain about him are *Death and Taxes*, as was once said by an Englishman, not inaptly, many will say.

The destiny of Man is to weep. "Das Schicksal des Menichenist zor warien,!" says a famous German philosopher, while his Gallic neighbour and friend very characteristically says, the destiny of Man is to feel *ennui*—that feeling of *tediousness* which occasionally comes to all men and especially to highly civilised men: "le destin de l'homme, c'est d'énnyyer!"

I once asked a German fellow-student of mine what, according to him, was the destiny of Man? The destiny of Man, he replied without a moment's hesitation, is to *smoke and to drink beer!*

Coming nearer to this country, we know, that the motto of a well-known Greek philosopher was,—“Eat, drink, and be merry; for, to-morrow we die!” While it is quite characteristic of the

Hindus and the Buddhists to say, the Destiny of Man is *Janma, Jarà, Mrityu, and Punarjanma*, that is to say, birth, decrepitude, death and re-birth. It would be easy to add to these quotations, and shew how differently the destiny of Man has been conceived by the different races of the world, and even by different individuals of the same race.

There is no doubt that each of the above sayings, even where worded with a cynical humor, represents a grain of truth, and that the whole truth is to be found only by combining and putting them all together. Like the blind men and the elephant, it is possible to form an image of the whole animal only by putting together all the different limbs and organs which the blind men had *felt* each for himself. Thus, we may say, the destiny of Man is to be born, to eat, drink and laugh, also to weep now and then, to feel occasionally the *ennui of life*, to be ill, to be old, to die, and to pass into a different stage of existence. But is that all? Has man no higher destiny to achieve than the brute creation below him? With regard to the points indicated he is more or less on a par with the lower animals. Is he only destined like them "to live, propagate and rot," or has he higher aspirations and nobler faculties which point to a higher destiny and a nobler goal? Is he merely like the beast of the field that perisheth, or has he in him 'thoughts that burn, and words that breathe' and deep, searching 'eyes that wander through eternity?'" There is no doubt that he performs all the functions of vegetable and animal life, but he does something more. There is *plus* something which makes him *genus homo*—not merely a two-legged animal without feathers but, as the poet has beautifully put it, "the paragon of animals and the crown of creation." It is this *something* that has endowed him with the power of forming abstract concepts and of expressing them in definite, articulate words. It is this *something* which makes him the ever-progressive being that he is—ascending the ladder of progress and perfection through cycles of immeasurable time.\* And what is this *something*—this factor superadded, which gives him such an incalculable start over the rest of the creation? It is the Soul—the Spirit—the *Buddhi* of the Hindus and the Buddhists. Mind, you must not confound it with mere Understanding or Intelligence which is always intimately associated with the quality and the quantity of the brain-substance as has been so ably demonstrated by Prof. Wand and others belonging to his school. No; it is something deeper and higher still. It corresponds with *Vernunft* (as distinguished from *Verstand*) of the Germans, which Max Müller,

in the absence of a more appropriate term, translates as *Higher Reason*—the Higher Reason, as Kant would have put it,—that assures man of God, Conscience, and Immortality. It is this *Vernunft* which allies Man to the Angels, as his lower appetites tie him down to the beasts. This idea has been so well expressed by a Persian poet that I cannot forbear the temptation of quoting him:—

Adamzáda turfé-májun ast,  
Az Ferishta sérisht O az haiwan;  
Gar kunad maul in, shavad bad ázin;  
'Gar kunad mail an, shavad behazan!

'Man is a strange compound—made up as he is of the angel and the beast;

"Inclined to the latter (the beast), he becomes worse than the beast;

Inclined to the former (the angel), he becomes better than the angel!"

As Man is such a strange compound, as he is neither an angel nor a beast but a mixture of both—a duality with two natures running one into the other, one of which points towards the skies, and the other towards this earth,—his destiny, I take it, must therefore be to cultivate his angelic as well as his animal nature, each in due proportion—his spiritual perceptions as well as his physical powers—his intuitions as well as his durations (?) or, to put it in our ordinary language, his mind (in the widest sense) as well as his body. Thus alone is he able to achieve the destiny of his life—thus to attain that harmony and happiness which he is entitled to and thus to realize that beautiful idea of God which we call *Human Nature*!

Hitherto, I have spoken of the destiny of man in a general way. There is, however, a particular destiny which every individual must achieve for himself. Besides the general ideal which we must all attain, there is a particular ideal which every individual must try to realise in his own life. To every man, as soon as he is born, is proposed the same old riddle and he must be his own *Œdipus* or die. Nature and Life are quite fresh to every man, and he must meet them both in his own way.

This sense of particular and individual destiny is strongest in those men of deeper intentions and larger brains whom we call men of genius. It takes them sometime before even they are fully conscious of their destiny, or their mission in life, as they call it. Milton was no less than thirty-three years of age before he spoke of

a work he was *destined* to produce and which the world would not let willingly die. Goethe—the great German poet and philosopher—was at least thirty years old when he got what he called his New Life ("das neue Leben"). Socrates was only an embryo philosopher till forty, while Mahomet did not, as you all know, announce his mission till that age.

But when such men have ~~once~~ realised their destiny or mission, they achieve results which are little short of the marvellous. This sense of destiny is at the root of all the great works that have moved the world.

It was this sense of destiny which prompted the words of Jesus before Pilate: "To this end I was born, and for this I came to this world, that I may be witness unto Truth. Everyone that is of the Truth, heareth my voice!"

## THE INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF INDIA.

### VI.

#### THE AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY OF INDIA—*Continued.*

In this chapter we propose to deal with those products of the agricultural industry of India which are used in international commerce. These are principally cotton, jute, indigo, tea, coffee, opium, cinchona, mulberry, the various kinds of dyes, and similar things. We have dwelt on the manufacture of cotton in another place and it is only necessary to state here the details with reference to the growth of cotton. The indigenous varieties have known to be cultivated to a considerable extent from the earliest times and meet the demand in India, but since the American war of 1861-2, it has been grown as an article of export on a large scale. The vast plains of North America supplied the numerous mills of Lancashire with the raw cotton that was necessary for the purposes of manufacture. During the war between the Northern and the Southern States of the Union, the economic conditions of American society changed radically and the cultivation and commerce of the country were long at a deadlock. Hundreds of thousands of hands were thus thrown out of employ in the cotton-manufacturing counties of England, and the distress that ensued was very great. The manufacturers were made to sit idle with their expensive machinery for the want of the raw produce necessary for the purposes of manufacture. In this emergency cotton was sought for in every part of the world and as India was well-known to be a cotton-producing country, the demand for Indian cotton became very high in the cotton markets of the British isles. For a time in the Western Presidency, cotton and gold were convertible terms. The Indian ryot experienced a time of unusual prosperity, and those who were ready to take the time by the forelock realized enormous fortunes. Thus for a few years during the continuance of the American war and the period necessary for society settling down to its old grooves, the Indian export of cotton was very considerable and almost the only source of supply to the great manufacturers of England. In 1866,

the export of raw cotton amounted to the enormous figure of 37 millions. But as soon as there was peace and plenty again in America, the Indian trade in cotton rapidly declined. The English manufacturers had from the first been of opinion that the quality of Indian cotton was very inferior, that it did not serve the same purpose as the long-stapled cotton of America in spinning the finer qualities of yarn. They had been obliged to resort to India for their supply of cotton only because otherwise their industry would certainly have perished, but as soon as the circumstances of the case changed for the better, the demand for Indian cotton grew less and less, and in a dozen years from 1866, the export of Indian cotton fell to one-fifth of the amount in the former year. India, however, had reaped great advantages by the sudden and unforeseen expansion of her cotton trade, and her producers and merchants longed for this state of things to continue. Numerous efforts were made to improve the quality of Indian cotton, and the experiments with reference to the growing of cotton on Indian soil by means of imported seed from America went on from time to time. Those experiments were for the most part attended with but little success except in the single district of Dharwar in the Bombay Presidency where the exotic plant is flourishing and has nearly superseded the indigenous cotton. The great cotton tracts of India are on both sides of the broad-gauge line that runs from Bombay to Wadhwan. The plains of Kattiwar and Gujrat yield the best varieties of Indian cotton known as *Surat* and *Dholera*. The valleys of the Central Provinces and the Berars yield the other sort which goes under the names of Hinganghat and Amraoti. The Indian cotton is solely used in the Indian mills, but its demand abroad is not very great. The sudden rise of the demand for cotton, and the crash that ensued as soon as peace was restored in America, are important events in the political economy of India and have led to results of considerable magnitude for those who were in the fever of speculation in those days. Enormous profits were gained by those who had in the early days of the cotton mania seized their opportunity, and it is due to this inflation of the cotton trade that Bombay abounds with charitable and beneficent institutions of all sorts. But those who in view of fabulous profits invested large amounts during the declining days of the cotton trade had experiences of a radically different sort, for many of them were involved in ruin. The Bank of Bombay was in the fever heat of speculation, and the disclosures that were made when the day of reckoning came, showed that the Bombay merchants had mostly lost that coolness and steadiness of head which are so



necessary for business men, in the wild rage for speculation. Since 1878-9, when the Indian export trade in cotton was at its lowest ebb, it has recovered to a great extent, and the exports now amount to about 20 millions. The Indian mills which, though turning out coarser goods, have found a market for them in the Eastern countries of Asia as well as in the Indian villages, now take up Indian cotton to a large extent. But the trade has now come down to what may be called its natural dimensions, and has been placed on a stable basis. We read in the works of English political economists of commercial crises happening in England almost in every decade. We can realize a similar state of things in our own country, and it seems to be an inevitable law of nature in the commercial sphere, as in other spheres, prosperity is followed by adversity. In the heyday of prosperity of a trade, so much wild speculation is resorted to, and so many foolish things are done, that in the crash that ensues, utter ruin stares in the face of many individuals and houses of business. Those who have had an opportunity to watch the actual operation of a spinning and weaving mill cannot but be interested in the cotton produce and the cotton industry of India. The different processes by which the raw cotton of the market is refined into the finer cotton of the spinning machinery and then converted into threads that grow finer and finer at every successive stage, and the manner in which the threads are put together, tied together, and closely-woven together, are all very interesting. When we reflect upon the immense amount of capital invested in this industry in India itself, we cannot but be interested in everything relating to this branch of industry and commerce. The old trade of the country in this article which is fast dying out requires to be revived. How that is to be done is one of the most pressing industrial problems of the day. There is no doubt that the cloth made by handlooms is more durable and often equally fine, but it cannot be brought to the market at so cheap a rate as the machine-made cloth. How many novels in the many vernaculars of India depict in the most pathetic tones the miseries brought on the weaving-classes by their failing to compete with the produce of the mills of Manchester. The industrial condition of the country has to be improved in many particulars, but that the principal share of our attention should be bestowed on cotton trade and manufactures is a fact that admits of no doubt.

In dwelling on the jute manufactures carried on in India, we have dwelt at some length on the cultivation and produce of jute in Bengal. It is only necessary to say here that the seed of the

jute plant is sown in the month of April and the plants after having attained their full size are ready to be cut by August. The fibre of these plants is a silky thread and has to be extracted by allowing them to rot so that the outer covers may be removed easily. Jute is cultivated to a large extent in the favored soils in the deltas of the Ganges and Brahmaputra, chiefly on soils which would have otherwise remained unused. We have seen already the economic effects of the jute industry, how it has succeeded in bringing money to the pockets of the poor ryots in Eastern Bengal, and how it has raised the commercial prosperity of Bengal as a whole. The jute of Bengal is of a very superior quality and serves the purposes of commerce and manufacture excellently.

Every native of Bengal who has passed his fortieth year must remember the agitation with reference to the Indigo cultivation in that province. The Indigo industry in Bengal has not yet recovered from the shock it suffered in 1861-2. Indigo is cultivated now to a very large extent in Behar, the N. W. Provinces, and the Punjab. In the two last provinces Indigo is a crop that seems to be a favorite one with the native cultivators and is chiefly grown by them. The European planters have factories on a large scale chiefly in Behar. The Indigo plant is sown about the month of March and reaches its full development in July. The leaves of these plants are steeped in large vats and after some time the particles of dye settle down to the bottom of the water. They are then carefully prepared and made up into cakes which are used either in India or exported to foreign countries. In large factories, several parts of this process are done usually with the aid of steam. The oppressions of the Indigo-planters who were, mostly Europeans in Bengal had at one time passed into a bye-word. The system followed in Bengal was to make advances to the cultivator and compel him to sow his best lands with Indigo. If his full crop fell, (according to rates fixed by the Planters themselves) short of the advance he had received, the Planter had a lien on the crops of the succeeding year. Thus the poor ryots whose ignorance and weakness compelled them to submit passively to the terms of the cultivators, were never able to get free from their bondage to the cultivators and gradually sank to a condition of hereditary indebtedness. This was really intolerable. An *exparte* allegation of a debt being due to the stronger party was sufficient to bestow upon him a lien on the land of the weaker party. Supposing the cultivator to have entered into a contract for clearing off the advance received not by making any payment in money but by cultivating Indigo and yielding up his crops

year after year till the whole of the advance was cleared, a breach of the contract should have been regarded as breaches of *other* contracts of a similar kind. There was nothing in such a contract to make its specific performance obligatory. Damages were all that the factories could claim. Instead of this, a weak executive administration allowed the factories to claim and exercise the power of exacting specific performance of the contracts. The intervention of the civil or criminal courts was not necessary. The servants of the factories invaded the ryots' lands of their own sweet will and ploughed at fields already sown with other crops for sowing the Indigo seed. The Magistrates afforded no protection to the ryots. Many of the officers of Government were known to own shares in the Indigo concerns. The European Planters had powerful organs in the metropolitan press. Goaded by oppression, the efforts the ryots made in their ignorance to free themselves from the dominion of their Indigo-masters were magnified by those interested organs into rebellion against the State. Troops were demanded for putting down the disturbances. This undesirable state of things came prominently into public notice owing again to the cruelties practised by some of the Planters. Sir John Peter Grant took vigorous steps to remedy the condition of affairs. In Behar the system followed had from the first been different. There the Planter purchased or leased a certain quantity of land and cultivated them by hired labour. The presence of a body of powerful Europeans with a large amount of capital to command in congested districts gave rise from the very nature of the case to numerous complications and unpleasant relations with the native inhabitants, and during the first year of the reign of Sir Ashley Eden things had come to such a pass that the Government had to take serious notice of the matter. Sir Stuart Rayley, on behalf of the Behar Planters, informed the Bengal Government that an Association had been formed which should take up and settle all disputed questions and keep an eye on all the erring members of that body. The Association has repeatedly been complimented by the Local Government as having performed its duties satisfactorily. By the curtailment of many of the privileges that the Planters had enjoyed in Bengal, the Indigo industry received a blow from which it has not yet recovered.

The opium trade of India with China annually brings a large amount to the Indian Exchequer. India has found Persia a dreaded rival in this respect and the continual growth of indigenous opium in China has vastly curtailed the Indian trade. The opium

of Commerce grown chiefly in Behar and Benares, as well as Malwa, is prepared into cakes for the Chinese market at the central manufactories. The quality of opium depends on the skill with which the exudation of the plant is scraped and collected. The opium-trade of India has been denounced as iniquitous by English statesmen and philanthropists times out of number during the last quarter of a century, and the severest anathemas have been hurled against the Indian Government for persisting in it. The finance ministers of India, since the days of Sir Charles Trevelyan, have pointed out that it is no more iniquitous to raise Revenue upon the consumption of opium in China than it is to raise Revenue by the taxation of alcohol in England. The fears that the Indian opium trade would rapidly decline as the indigenous opium is grown more and more largely, have proved to be groundless in view of the fact that the quality of Indian opium is very superior and the Chinese persist in using it as an article of luxury. The opium revenue has declined considerably in comparison with the income from the same source in former years. The English Parliament have recently passed a vote by a majority denouncing the opium trade of the Indian Government and calling for its abolition. But the virtuous philanthropists have conveniently forgotten that India would be on the verge of bankruptcy in case she be deprived of the opium revenue and that England must make good the loss to India in case she finally issued her orders for the entire abolition of the Indian opium trade.

Tobacco in India is chiefly grown in the districts of Rangpur and Tirhut in Bengal and several parts of Madras in and around the Trichinopoly district. The tobacco that is grown is used principally for consumption in India and only some varieties of the Madras tobacco are suited to the European taste. The Government has commenced operations for preparing good tobacco under its own management and its efforts have been successful to some extent in this direction. In Regimental quarters the use of the Government tobacco is popular. But with the native population the tobacco that goes by the name of the Gya or the Lucknow kinds is considered to have a very good soothing effect and is sold at a high price. The European experts, on the other hand, invariably pronounce the tobacco of India as of an inferior kind when compared with that of the other countries producing the same article, and the Indian tobacco is not at all in demand in the markets of Europe. The tobacco is a favorite article of consumption with the native population and to the majority of Indian villagers it is the only solace after the hard labours of the day.

Coffee is cultivated now to a very large extent on the slopes of the Ghats, the Nilgiries and other hills in the Deccan. It is said to have been introduced about 200 years ago by a Moslem pilgrim to Arabia with the name of Babu Budan. He brought the coffee berry from Arabia and planted it on his native soil. Coffee requires for its cultivation a rather elevated tableland, and it is only after several years' labour that the cultivator is rewarded with a full crop. The site for coffee cultivation should be judiciously chosen and in the early days of this industry there were the usual failures and disappointment owing to the neglect of this principal requisite. The first years require that the shrubs should be tended carefully, and when they flower they present a snow-white appearance for some considerable distance which is as grateful a sight as that which meets the traveller to Malwa in the red expanse of the opium fields. The "beans" are prepared by a careful process from the berries and they are sent over to the market. Coffee is exported principally to the United Kingdom and to France.

Tea-planting in India is almost exclusively an European industry, and is to be found to a very large extent on the slopes of the Himalayas and other hills. The plant was found indigenous in Assam during the reign of Lord William Bentinck, and since then it has been the endeavour of the European Capitalists to extend the field of this industry. The lower slopes of the Himalayas were found to be excellent ground for tea-plantations, and great efforts were made by the introduction of the best varieties of China tea, to make its planting a successful business. Near Darjiling and in the hill tracts of Kumaon and Garahwal tea is a principal article of produce, and many retired members of the Indian services had devoted themselves during the last years of their lives exclusively to this business. The rage for speculation was at times so great that there were tremendous waves in the commercial market due to it, and in 1865 there was an almost disastrous crisis. Tea is a plant that requires very careful training and reaches its full growth only after several years' labour. Tea is exported chiefly to the British isles and the quality of the Indian tea has been pronounced to be very superior. The flavour and aromatic smell of several varieties have never been excelled, and the industry has attracted a large amount of capital and promises to be a capital success in the near future. The slopes of low hills yielding a soil rich with the deposits of ages furnish the best sites for tea-gardens, and the plants reach their full size in the tenth year. The first years are spent only in rooting out the

weeds and supervising the careful growth of the plant. A kind of young leaves known as "flushes" appear in the stated seasons, which are gathered, dried and cut into various sizes and sorted into different qualities. The relations between the European tea-planters and the native laborers have always been of a complex character. Assam suffers from a dearth of labour, which has to be imported from the congested districts elsewhere. The contracts between capital and labour have given rise to complexities in every part of the globe but they have been of a serious nature in Assam. The Government has passed a separate Act, which is admitted on all hands as most unsatisfactory in its present form. The treatment meted out to coolies, has, in many instances, been such as to be a disgrace to civilization and furnishes a stock complaint for the native press. The journals that plead the cause of the European capitalists and the European services in season and out of season, are often discreetly silent on the subject, while the conscientious reports of the highest officials disclose a sad state of things. While on this subject we can only hope that the relations between capital and labour in Assam should be far more satisfactory in the future than they have been in the past.

We have dwelt at considerable length on the Silk industry of India and as the manufacture of Silk could scarcely be described without giving the agricultural aspects of the matter, it is not necessary for us to enter into the subject at length here. The Indian mulberry tree is a small shrub, which if carefully preserved would yield leaves for successive years. It can be grown on any sort of land and is to be found principally in Rājshaye, Midnapur, Murshidabad, and Burdwan.

The cultivation of Cinchona in India is the most successful experiment in Indian arboriculture. Mr. Clements Markham introduced the seed from South America and it has found a congenial soil here. Its quality is far inferior to that of the genuine quinine, but it is useful as a cheap remedy against fever among the mass of the Indian population. Epidemic fever has become, since the last two decades, a phenomenon of Indian village life in many parts of the country, and the Cinchona plantations have consequently received very great extensions. Cinchona is cultivated on the Nilgiri Hills, the hills near Coorg, and on the spurs near Darjiling. Private capitalists have taken up this business, and already there are plantations owned by private enterprise that rival the Government plantations in extent and importance. The cultivation of Cinchona is very profitable from an economic point of view and yields a good interest on the capital outlay. Cin-

chona is chiefly an article of local consumption and is used to a very small extent for the purposes of export. \*

A brief notice of lac-dye and shell-lac would bring this head of our enumeration to an end. Lac-dye is said to be capable of producing a scarlet colour that resists the effects of human perspiration. It is, therefore, used largely now in producing the scarlet uniforms of the Indian regiments. The color and shell-lac are both derived from the incrustation of an insect that abounds in the Lohardaga district, and by collecting the bodies of the female insects. The chief establishment to produce this article near Doranda in the Lohardaga district has long been obliged to suspend operations owing to the article not fetching the former price in the European markets. The Indian lac, however, is universally recognized as the best material for producing a fast colour that would last long.

We have finished our remarks on the agricultural industry of India. We have dwelt on it at much greater length than the other connected topics, principally because it is by far the most important and absorbing of Indian industries. The side-issues connected with it are in themselves too many, and we must in a general discussion on the industrial history of India avoid them as far as possible. The settlement operations, and the assessments and modes of collection of the land-tax, have a most important influence on the agricultural industry of the nation. In India where agriculture is the backbone of the nation, the assessment and collection of the land-revenue constitute a question of immense importance which it is the principal work of district administration to grapple with. The rural economy of India and the land-revenue are subjects, which though not directly coming within the purview of the Industrial history of India are in a manner connected with it, and furnish matters of interesting study and serious reflection. Should time permit we shall not fail to dwell on them before we close the present series in these pages.

SATYA CHANDRA MUKERJI.

*OUTLINES OF HINDU CELEBRITIES.*

CHAITANYA.

I

Behold

Where on *Bhagirathi's* shore a city stands  
 Built nobly, pure the air, and light the soil,  
*Nadiya*, the eye of Bengal, mother of arts  
 And eloquence, native to famous wits  
 Or hospitable, in her sweet recess,  
 City or suburban, studious walks or shades.

Paradise Regained.

Nadiya, or Navadwipa, in the 15th century, was the third great city of Bengal—Gauda being its splendid metropolis, Suvarnagram (Sonargaon) its opulent emporium, and Nadiya its far-famed academy. It did not rise in architectural grandeur of palaces and towers, but delighted the eye as a beautiful emerald spot between the Bhagirathi and Jalangi, with surroundings of enchanting rural scenery, where the flowers ever bloomed, the trees bore the choicest of fruits, and human life flowed in a still stream. Renowned as the favourite abode of Sarasvati, Nadiya rivalled Benares and Mithila in fresh vigorous intellectuality. Eminent jurists like Raghunandana, keen Nayaiks or logicians, and combative Sarvabhaumas arose there in numbers. There had Agam Vagisha inaugurated the worship of Sakti in her Kali-form, and the voluptuous Vamacharis by far out-numbered the puritanical Vaishnavas. The Chaitanya-Charitamrita thus summarises the account:—"No place on the earth is equal to Navadwipa, where Chaitanya was incarnate. No one can tell the wealth of Navadwipa. If people read in Navadwipa, they find the *ras* of learning, and the number of students is innumerable."

This old Nadiya does not exist now. In the first decade of our century, the Bhagirathi, in shifting its channel from the west to the north, poured right through the town, and swept away all its memorable belongings. The new town which has arisen, interests the traveller by ancient reminiscences, but



fails to show any of the hallowed spots of old. The scene of Chaitanya's birth and early life was pointed out to us, during our sojourn there in 1845, far away in the bed of the stream which now flows by the north of the town.

The followers of Chaitanya possess a voluminous body of literature in which his life-story is the subject of more than one work. The *Adi Lila*, by Murari Gupta, gives the anecdotes of his early household life. The *Madhya Lila* and *Anta Lila*, by Damodara Dasa, give an account of his *Vairagi* life. From these memoirs, Vrindavana Dasa compiled his *Chaitanya Charitra*, a work of great authority on the subject. But the most popular of all works is the *Chaitanya Charitamrita*, written partly in Bengali and partly in Sanskrit, by Krishna Dasa, in 1590. The *Chaitanya Mangala*, is another account by Lochana Dasa. There is a drama, called *Chaitanya Chandradaya*. If any life-sketch in our literature approaches in interest to an English biography, it is that of Chaitanya drawn chiefly by his immediate disciples and contemporary followers with all the advantages of personal knowledge. •

Chaitanya was conceived in the end of Magh, 1407 Saka era, or 1484 A.D., and, lying for thirteen months in the womb, was born in 1485. His birth took place shortly after nightfall, on the sacred *Dol-jatra* night, under the sign of Leo. There was an eclipse of the moon, when he was ushered into the world amid loud kasar-beatings, and conch-blowings, and Hari-bolings throughout the town. The unusual circumstances attending his birth are cited as proofs of his incarnation.

His father, Jagannatha Misra, was originally a Brahman of Srihatta, or Sylhet, but who married and settled at Nadiya. His mother was Sachi Devi, the daughter of one Nilambara Chakravarti. Jagannatha at first had eight daughters born to him one after another, all of whom died in their infancy. He next got a son, called Viswarupa. Chaitanya was his tenth and last child. Such long gestation in the womb as that of Chaitanya is rare, but not unknown in physiology. But instead of a vigorous babe, he was born in very feeble health. He did not cry like other babes immediately after delivery, neither did he take to the breast. His life not being expected, he was laid under a *nim*-tree in the court-yard of the house. Here, in the open air, and also, perhaps, under the tonic influence of the anti-febrile *nim*, he gave signs of revival, on which his mother removed him into the house, and began her careful nursing. Voltaire and Fontenelle were similarly born almost in a dying condition. But Voltaire lived up to his 85th year, and Fontenelle to within a few weeks of a hundred.

Very probably, his early name of Nimai was owing to the *nim*-tree incident. But it is said that he was at first so called, because in female opinion, that name acted as a protective charm against the influence of evil spirits.

Next morning, many relatives and neighbouring females came to congratulate his mother. They all admired the exceedingly comely baby. Among the visitors was Nilamvara Chakravarti, his maternal grandfather, who pretended to fortune-telling, and, interpreting the favourable signs, predicted the child a prodigy, and named him Visamvara.

Jagannatha was a well-read Brahman, bred in the Vaishnava faith. By nature a simple man, and piously disposed, he had little craving for worldly eminence, and was content to live on slender means. His wife also was a virtuous woman, who lived in happy response to his tastes and habits. Their two sons constituted the joy of their household. The elder, Viswarupa, was a studious lad, with a religious turn of mind. Young Chaitanya was the new darling. His infancy was remarkable mostly for his strange humours and excitements, his altered moods of mind from rage and sullen silence to outbreaks of noisy mirth, his changes from "life in motion to life in thought and sensation."

"And now his look was most demurely sad,  
And now he laughed aloud, yet none knew why,  
The neighbours star'd, and sigh'd, yet bless'd the lad,  
Some deem'd him wondrous wise, some believ'd him mad."

Indeed, he was quite an unaccountable fellow, who puzzled people to reconcile his incongruous characteristics. They could easily trace the fluctuations of his temper to infantile restlessness of animal spirits. But they could not make out the mystery of the anodyne effect of the name of Hari upon his spirits—a name that stopped him from crying, and put him into good-humour. They marked that his convulsive fits and starts did not proceed from any cerebral mal-formation; yet they happened and baffled comprehension. In his 8th month, Chaitanya went through his ricing-ceremony. But at that tender age, he did not, like other babes, feel tempted to lay his hands on a glittering toy, but on the Bhagavad Grantha. It was an extraordinary fancy, an act of serious volition for which no rhyme or reason could be assigned. The struck-by-standers saw in it an "elective preference" suggested by something heavenly ingrained in his nature. At any rate, Chaitanya was a marvellous child. He illustrated the sentiment that "great wits to madness nearly are allied." It was with him

as with all great and prophetic men, who amaze the world by their early precocity. By those who watch the budding of infant minds, it is found that a child is the greatest learner, the cleverest physiognomist, and the keenest thought-reader. He learns language without an alphabet, a grammar, and a dictionary. He knows proportion and number by self-taught comparison and calculation. "The truth is," says Lord Brougham, "that he can learn, and does learn, a great deal more before the age of six years, than all he ever learns or can learn in all his after-life. . . . During the period between the ages of eighteen months or two years, and six, I will even say that he learns much more of the material world—of his own powers—of the nature of other bodies, even of his mind and of other minds, than he ever after acquires during all the years of boyhood, youth, and manhood. Every child, even of the most ordinary capacity, learns more, gains a greater mass of knowledge, and of a more useful kind at this tender age, than the greatest philosopher is enabled to build upon it during the longest life of the most successful investigation."\* Such being the mental and moral law of nature, it should be understood, in the instance of Chaitanya, to have operated with a greater force and quicker result than in ordinary cases.

Many stories are told of his infantile wild frolics. Like all children, he broke things, and committed mischief. He made off with others' goods. He beat the village boys who came across him. In the river, he disappeared and dragged people by their legs. He confounded the clothes of the men and women left at the ghat, pelted them with sand, and disturbed their meditations. But his eminently prepossessing appearance and winning address disarmed anger, and made people forget and forgive his naughty pranks. It was impossible not to like and love him. It is said that he had once been led away by some kidnappers, but who affected by his loveliness desisted from laying violent hands on his person, or on his ornaments.

Commonly, the fifth year of a Hindu boy is his abecedarian year. Chaitanya began his studies in that year of his life. He mastered the alphabet with surprising quickness. Having completed his rudimentary training in Bengali, he was put in the Grammar School of Gangadasa to learn Sanscrit. Gangadasa was well up to in Mugdhabodha and Panini. He found his new pupil with an aptitude far above his years, and took especial pains to bring him up in his speciality.

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\* Speech "On Infant Schools."

But Chaitanya's progress was interrupted by a sad calamity in his father's household. His brother, Viswarupa, had turned out an accomplished and promising scholar, on whom had been centred the hopes of the family. But his study of the religious Shastras landed him in asceticism. His father preparing to marry him, he quietly left home one day in the company of a religious vagrant, called Sankararanya. Jagannatha so acutely felt the shock of his desertion, that it unhinged his mind. Fearing the same result from Chaitanya, he withdrew him from his school, and preferred to keep him illiterate rather than his house should become desolate in his old age.

Taken away from his studies, Chaitanya, in his idleness and years of indiscretion, returned to his old play-fellows, and to his old frolics. He gadded about in the streets, and frequented the river-side, during day. In the night, he feigned to be a bull in disguise, and, at the head of his juvenile band, destroyed the plantain-gardens of his neighbours. At home, he refused to purify himself from pollution, saying that purity and impurity referred not to the body, but to the soul. He would also throw away the household gods, and eat of the offerings dedicated to them. This was an excess which the all indulgent Sachi Devi could not stand. She went up with its tale to her husband. Other parties also lodged their complaints. Jagannatha saw through their representations the ruin to his son's prospects. He changed his mind, and put him into school again. Chaitanya's *Brahminisation*, or investiture with the sacred thread, also occurred about this period.

Up to his 14th year, Chaitanya remained under the tuition of Gangadasa. In his 15th year, or Saka 1422, (A.D. 1500,) he was transferred to the *Chatuspati*, or High School, of Vachaspati Sarvabhauma, at Vidyanaagara, in the vicinity of Nadiya. Vachaspati was a perfect mine of Sanscrit lore. He was as erudite as painstaking, and taught the most important branches of the Shastras. Many of the scholars turned out by him distinguished themselves in after life. The most eminent school fellow of Chaitanya, was Raghunandana, the great jurist of Bengal. His other noted contemporaries were Raghunatha Shriramoni, Haridasa Sarvabhauma, and Sripada Goswami.

Shortly after commencing his studies under Vachaspati, Chaitanya lost his father. Jagannatha was never a strong-minded man. Age unmanned him the more. Grief for Viswarupa never ceased to prey upon his mind. His great fear was that Chaitanya would play the part of a similar runaway. Haunted by this presentiment,

he got into a diseased imagination, which one night troubled him with the dream that Chaitanya had shaved his head, and turned a Vairagi roaming from place to place with thousands of followers. It was the very thing that always loomed before his mental vision. Thus, a settled melancholy and low spirits clouded his last years, during which he constantly prayed to the gods to avert the dreaded evil, till death brought his unhappy life to a close.

Jagannatha died a poor Brahman, leaving his widow and son almost in destitution. But Sachi Devi was a prudent woman, who husbanded the small resources and eked out a living. Chaitanya also, giving up his wild irregularities, now became a grave studious youth. The good old Hindu rule was to hold school in the cool hours after day break,—it was suggested by the clime of the sun, and followed also for the greater impressibility of a fresh brain. Chaitanya went to his studies early in the morning, and returned home by noon. He then spent the day in extending his range over the field of letters beyond the college routine. In coming home from his school one morning, he came across a girl at the river-side, on whose superlative beauty he gazed with loving eyes. The girl, too, admired his graceful person. There was mutual liking and mutual love between them at the first sight, signified by a mutual exchange of smiles. The young maiden with whom this innocent flirtation took place was Lakshipriya, the daughter of Vallabha Acharya, a Brahman of good family and character. Chaitanya met her a second day, when there was mutual recognition and mutual expression of pleasure again. Before long, the loving pair were united as husband and wife.

Chaitanya was a great favourite at school. His master loved him, and took considerable interest in him. His fellow-students very much liked and valued him. With his keen intellect and quickness of grasp, he soon distinguished himself by his acquirements. He became also greatly noted for his powers of debate. At first his forte lay in grammar. Many a time did he hold discussions on subtle grammatical questions, and win distinction bringing him a name with the whole school. His special laughing-stock was Murari Gupta, who aspired to be the leader of his fellows without the requisite qualifications. Chaitanya, always opposed to a pretender, reserved his pugnacity for him. He often took up the cudgels against him, and, vanquishing, took the shine out of him. His controversial victories becoming the talk of learned circles, his name got popularised as Nimai Pandit.

Keeping up his studies for two to three years after his father's death, Nimai Pandit quitted his college sooner perhaps than he

wished, but not before he had laid a broad and deep foundation for learning. Household cares devolving upon him, he began to think of an occupation. The profession commonly followed by men like him, was schoolmastery. Deciding upon this step, he looked out for a suitable place, and fixed his choice upon the house of one Mukunda Sanjaya, which had a spacious *Chandimandap* for accommodation. Here he opened an academy. The fame of his brilliant powers attracted many pupils, and in a little time his institution prospered and took a high rank in Nadiya.

In the course of his tutorial career, Chaitanya often came in contact with learned scholars. The meeting of one Pandit with another generally means an engagement in controversy. The greater the Pandit, the more frequent is the recurrence of such engagements. Nimai Pandit was a famous disputant. Many rivals came and threw down the gauntlet to him. One of them was Pandit Mukunda. Scholarship was not his only qualification. He was noted also for his piety and devout Vaishnavism. His greatest accomplishment lay in music. In this line, he was a genius, who, daily in the evening, sung exquisitely in praise of his favourite God, and entertained a large audience of his fellow-religionists. Mukunda knew well that Nimai was an invincible tactician in puzzles of grammatical permutation and derivation. He therefore proposed a contest in rhetoric. Nimai accepted his challenge, and won a victory that resulted in life-long friendship and association with his rival.

The next recorded trial took place with an eminent Vaishnava, named Iswara Puri, who was a disciple of Madhavandria Puri, and visited Nadiya expressly for the purpose of gauging the merit of Nimai Pandit. Iswara Puri had composed a work, called *Krishna-Lilamrita*, on which he wanted to have Nimai's opinion. Nimai did not like to be engaged with one considerably senior in age, and also refused a thing which was not to his taste. But being pressed with an urgency that made denial impossible, he sat from day to day listening critically to the recital of the work, which he at last highly praised for its excellence, but in which he pointed out a few flaws of inaccurate derivation. The two Pandits parted with great friendly feelings and mutual compliments of esteem.

The most remarkable of all contests was held with Gadadhara Pandit, in the *Naya Shastra*, or Logic, a branch of learning for which Nadiya has always been, and still is, the most famous school. Instead of being courted as in the other instances, it was Nimai himself who courted to be engaged in intellectual gladiatorship with

"a foeman worthy of the steel." He met Gadadhara one day, and courteously asked him to be enlightened on certain points in his favourite branch of study. Gadadhara not the less affably responded to his invitation. The subject taken up was Salvation. Gadadhara opened the discussion with a great display of knowledge, but his arguments were little better than common-places. Nimai's wit always suggested what the occasion demanded. Out of the natural resources of his own mind, together with his learning, he confuted the doctrines of his adversary with masterly skill and reasoning. Gadadhara confessed himself beaten, and acknowledged his youthful but highly-gifted antagonist's powers. These wit-combats were like those between Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, "which" says Fuller, "I beheld like a *Spanish great galleon* and an *English Man-of-War*! Master Jonson, like the former, was built far higher in learning, solid but slow in his performances. Shakespeare, with the English man-of-war, lesser in bulk, but lighter in sail, could turn with all tides, and take advantage of all winds, by the quickness of his wit and invention."

The fame of his victories spreading, Chaitanya was held the most pre-eminent Pandit in public esteem. His townsmen paid him warm homage. The great, alighting from their palkis on the road, greeted him in a most flattering manner. Letters of invitation poured in upon him from various quarters. In response to one of these invitations, he set off, with a few of his disciples, on an excursion to Eastern Bengal. Everywhere he was received with marked courtesy and honor. Sonargaon, the second capital and great emporium of Bengal, was visited by him. From Sonargaon, he went to Sylhet, the original abode of his ancestors. In Sylhet, the people had a strong nasal twang in their pronunciation. Chaitanya, naturally humorous in his disposition, mimicked this peculiarity, and afforded much amusement to his associates. After a few months absence he returned home, considerably benefited in health and purse by his travels. But he was extremely grieved to find that his beloved wife had died from snake bite. He felt the loss very deeply, but did not remain long from a second union. His mother, missing her domestic companion, persuaded him to take a second wife, Vishnupriya, the daughter of Sanatana Pandit.

♦ Chaitanya continued discharging his tutorial duties, supplemented by the inevitable controversies. Coming on with a too frequent repetition, and being carried on with much excitement, they at last affected his brain, causing a serious cerebral disorder. By careful treatment and complete rest from all mental exercises, he recovered.

But it ever afterwards afflicted him with periodic ebbs and flows of the intellect. On being well restored to health, Chaitanya set out, attended by a train of his pupils, for the holy shrine of Gaya. It was a long toilsome journey, which people in those days generally undertook in the dry months of March and April. Two routes from Bengal to Behar then existed. That by the Terriagari Pass was the most frequented. The other was a shorter, but narrow steep road, across mountains and jungles, *viâ* Sherghati, which was little used for its difficulties, and for the savages (Santhals) inhabiting the region. It is not known which route was taken by Chaitanya. In obedience to the Shastras, he made a pedestrian pilgrimage. The heat, and fatigue, and privation telling on his health, he had a second attack of his malady on the way. His dutiful pupils now acted towards him with the utmost grateful affection. Under their devotion and loving care he slowly got well, and it was several days before he recovered sufficient strength to resume his progress. On his arrival at Gaya, he went through the rites customary for a Hindu to perform to the manes of his ancestors. Far be it from us to condemn the fashion of one's piety, in whatever shape it may dress itself. Certainty, the inward homage of our hearts and lives is preferable to a mere outward homage of rites and ceremonies. But a religion without forms and rites soon degenerates into no religion at all, from which consideration the Shastras have laid stress on observance that keep the mind under a wholesome discipline. Many a time have they effected wonderful metamorphoses of the worldly-minded and irreligious into devout worshippers.

In the sacred city of Gaya, happened the memorable event which gave quite a new color to Chaitanya's future life. He was yet of an age (hardly past his 20th year), when he might naturally be expected to display nothing but cheerfulness, spirits, and volatility. Hitherto, he had passed his life in study, in disputations, in domestic cares, in formal *pujahs*. Religious enquiry was held in absolute suspense. But the vein, lying deep in his nature, was now struck. "Nothing can be more pleasing," says Chateaubriand, "or better calculated to excite sentiments of devotion, than this subterraneous church—the grotto of Nativity. It is adorned with pictures of the Italian and Spanish schools. These pictures represent the mysteries of the place, the Virgin and Child, after Raphael, the Annunciation, the Adoration of the Wise Men, the coming of the Shepherds, and all those miracles of mingled grandeur and innocence. The usual ornaments of the Manger are of blue satin embroidered with silver. Incense is continually



smoking before the cradle\* of the Saviour. I have heard an organ, touched by no ordinary hand, play during mass, the sweetest and most tender tunes of the best Italian composers. These concerts charm the Christian Arab, who, leaving his camels to feed, repairs, like the shepherds of old, to Bethelham, to adore the King of Kings in his manger. I have seen the inhabitant of the desert communicate at the altar of the Magi, with a fervour, a piety, a devotion, unknown among the Christians of the West. No place in the world excites more profound devotion. The continual arrival of caravans from all the nations of Christendom; the public prayers; the prostrations; nay, even the richness of the presents sent hither by the Christian princes, altogether produce feelings in the soul which it is much easier to conceive than to describe."\* Even so, to the Hindu, is the Vishnupad temple at Gaya, where the great mystery of the Salvation is accomplished. Five and twenty centuries point to the sacred relic forming the object of devotion there. The solemnity of the scene; the fervent invocations; the flowers; the incense; the constant arrival of pilgrims; their devotion, piety, rich donations, and charity, all deeply impress the mind of the individual who comes thither with the idea, the object, and the sentiments of an orthodox pilgrim. In the strongly imaginative mind of Chaitanya, they fired a train of sentiments that lay too deeply buried, and wanted but a fusee. They were to him like the opening of the heavens. He felt now that he had a soul, and was filled with yearnings for a higher world. In short, he caught the inspiration. It is interesting to note the several resemblances in the lives of Buddha and Chaitanya. The most remarkable co-incidence lies in their being inspired both of them almost at the same spot—the Vishnupada temple at Gaya being only six miles north of the Buddhapada temple at Budda-Gaya, where Buddha sat in mental abstraction and obtained his Buddhahood, or Enlightenment.

Chaitanya felt himself born to a new life and spirit. A firm and undoubting faith in Hari became his creed. With him, it was thought and done—he knew no *laissez-faire*. No sooner the new light dawned on his mind, than he prepared to go formally through the rites of initiation. Looking round among the congregated worshippers, he chanced to recognise his old acquaintance Iswara Puri. Applying to him for religious direction, Chaitanya became his spiritual pupil in due form.

We have now arrived at that important period in our narrative, when it contains an entirely new kind of interest. It is the

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\*Chateaubriand's "Travels in Palestine."

period when Chaitanya entered upon his great life-work, and achieved the important social and religious revolution which is reckoned his noblest service to his country. But it is necessary to introduce this subject with a short account of the state of Hindu faith prior to his advent. In the vicissitude of things, Buddhism disappeared, and Hinduism prevailed. The various Puranas and Tantras inculcated various forms, but all resting upon the cardinal worship of Vishnu, Siva, and Sacti. The worship of Siva received an impetus from the advocacy of Sankara. Then ensued a re-action in favour of Vishnu-worship, brought about by Ramanuja, Ramananda, and Kabir, all apostles of Vishnuism flourishing between the middle of the 12th and the middle of the 15th centuries. Ramanuja flourished in South India, the other two in North India. In Bengal, the first song in praise of Krishna and Radha was raised by Jayadeva, who perpetuated it by his Gita-Govinda. His death arrested the progress of his reformation, and the Vaishnava sect, about the time of Chaitanya's birth, numbered only a few votaries scattered along the Bhagirathi, such as Madhavandriya Puri at Kumarhatta, Adwaitananda at Santipur, and Srivasha at Nadiya. In the last named city, the predominating worship was of Sakti, in her form of Kali, introduced by Agam Vagisha, sometime in the 11th or 12th century—a form the most popular, because it was associated with all that the herd of mankind loves—with feast, and dance, and song. It is not difficult to imagine the state of morals among a people whom religion privileged to indulge in deep carousals—where Kulin Brahmans formally married any number of wives, where most of the Kulin girls remained *feme soles* till their middle age or gray hairs, and where widows never knew a second husband. The *Pancha-Makari* Vamacharis held their Bhairavi-Chakras with the utmost licence to drink and debauchery. Nadiya, far ahead of all other places in knowledge and intelligence, was scandalized by their brutalising indulgences. A few there were, the salt of the community, who professed in quiet obscurity the temperate principles of Vaishnavism. They extremely deplored the licentious proceedings of the Vamacharis, and in mournful regret patiently waited for the rise of a reformer.

Time, in its course, brought on the stage a champion of the desired stamp. Chaitanya stood out from among the crowd, and offered himself as a guide into the Promised Land. He was not a profound thinker, who had studied deep the mysteries of nature and God. He had not laboured assiduously to ascertain the cause, the object, and the end of existence. He was simply a man of literature, without any religious enquiry. But religion came to

him all at once like lightning, and awakend ideas with an electric instantaneousness. Under his inspiration, he saw supernatural visions, heard supernatural voices, and fell into paroxysms of religious excitement. One of the most prominent features of Chaitanya's mind was enthusiasm—an irrepressible overpowering enthusiasm to which nothing could set bounds, and which communicated itself to all who came in contact with him. Carried away by his first impulse, he had at one time thought of at once renouncing the world then and there at Gaya. But on sober reflection, he decided to lay claim to a supernatural commission, and preach a higher regenerate life to his countrymen. The religion in which his spirit found refuge, was Vishnuvism—one in which he was born and bred. Vishnuvism made a strong contrast with Sakti-ism by the mildness and purity of its doctrines. The spirit of that religion was then abroad every where in India, except in Bengal. Far in the Panjab, it was being preached by his contemporary Nanak Shah, with a modification. Chaitanya did not strike a new vein, or remodel, or put any new meaning upon the *slokas* of the Bhagavad-Gita and the Srimad Bhagavad. The old religion was left undisturbed; and the only new phase he introduced was to lay stress upon the name of Hari—all form of adoration being superfluous beyond the constant invocation of his name. It was Vishnuvism's concentrated essence, fully in accord with the sentiments of the age, and sufficiently recommending by its simplicity and practicability to the bulk of the people. Chaitanya proclaimed himself as the apostle of the *Bhakti*-doctrine, or the attainment of beatitude through Love of God—and made it his rule to teach his precept by the example of his life.

His mind being made up as to the future course of his life, Chaitanya traced back his way from Gaya. He returned a new man to his family and friends. Many of the latter called on him to hear an account of his pilgrimage. Among them were a few Vaishnavas, whom Chaitanya was delighted to notice. In the course of his narration, he came to dwell on his beatific vision of Hari in the Vishnupada temple. It was an outcome of imagination that left an ineffaceable memory behind. The recollection working upon his feelings, he fell into a fit of religious melancholy, followed by cries, tears, convulsions, and insensibility. His mother bewailed it as the return of his old constitutional disease. Most of the visitors thought him gone mad. But the Vaishnavas accepted it as an augury of good to come. They regarded him as divinely moved, and that his heart was seized upon by the quickening spirit of God. On coming to himself again, Chaitanya pro-

mingled to entertain his Vaishnava friends with the rest of his story, next day, at Suklamvara Bramachari's house. The appointed meeting took place, in which there was a repetition of the previous day's scene. People marked a radical change in Nimai Pandit, but its origin was obscure to them. By the superficial observer, he was taken for a dreamer gone out of mind. Gangadasa, his old tutor, and one of his well-wishers, advised him to divert himself with keeping up his school. It was followed. But the idea which had got possession of his mind kept his thoughts in agitation, and, in resuming his tutorial career, he taught more the lessons of an apostle than those of a schoolmaster. In a few days, he had to break up and close his school. But his boys were very fond of him, and remained attached to him. Gathering them round his person, Chaitanya formed the first nucleus of his sect, and entered upon his mission by originating those *Kritans* (hymnology), which made a novel feature in his preaching, and distinguished it from the procedure of former religionists. No more did any worldly care or pursuit engage his attention. He entirely devoted himself to piety. He read no other than Vaishnava religious books to make use of his abilities in his new office. Hari was "the ocean to the rivers of his thoughts"—his talk by day and dream by night.

His mother saw the change in his temper—his sudden growth into a religious man. His wife Vishnupriya was kept off from all intercourse with him. Day by day he grew in authority and in the admiring regard of his friends and neighbours. At first, Chaitanya opened his *Kritans* privately in his own house with a chosen number of disciples. Gradually they were frequented by more and more visitants including many learned and respectable Brahmans of the town. The Vaishnavas of the place came to his religious entertainment. In the midst of his impassioned invocations, they were particularly edified by his ecstatic fits. He was hailed as the elect of their God—a God-sent guide rarely met with in the annals of prophetism. Not more than a youth twenty-two years old, they had not seen or heard the like of him with such an early development of faith and deep spiritual love. His amiable look affected their hearts towards him. His earnestness, purity, and cordiality exercised a charm that rivetted them in friendship. His fervour stirred the depths of their spiritual nature.

It was not in Chaitanya's impulsive nature long to remain in inert obscure non-entitism. Before many days were over, he fraternised his adoring Vaishnava friends into a well-knit brotherhood. Shifting the scene of his labors, he asked them to meet

him at the house of Srivasa Pandit. Nightly there did he perform his *Kritans* with a distinguished and constantly increasing body of followers. His meetings were remarkable not so much for any other merit as for the strange emotions, and sighs, and sobs, and prostrations, and trances into which he invariably fell in the course of his dancings and songs. They caused a sensation that was not confined to the circle of his disciples, but which spread throughout the town, and became the talk all over the neighbouring country. In the eyes of the Vaishnavas, he appeared hedged round with divinity. But outside the pale, he was, like all innovators, jeered at and received with ironical compliments upon his new character.

Chatanya's *Kritans* had not the fascination of the siren-featured Nautch, nor the dramatic variety of the Jatra. They were simply holy effusions infused with harmony and rhythm, and addressed in chorus with the accompaniment of instrumental music. Their agreeableness depended upon taste regulated by faith. By the Tantricians in the depths of their moral stupor, they were execrated as uproarious vociferations, and a nuisance that prolonged far into the night disturbed their sleep. At first, they tried to interrupt them with clamour and scurrility. Chaitanya carried on his *Kritans* with closed doors. Croakings and aspersions failing, the Tantricians lodged a complaint with the Kazi. They also got up a false rumour that certain officers from the Mahomedan King of Gauda (Gaura) were coming down to carry away the Vaishnavas into captivity. But the friction of the world did not overawe Chaitanya—it hardened him the more in an invincible determination. Drawing his band more closely to each other round him, he made a firm stand against the formidable odds. In vain were the hootings, the peltings, the interruptions, and the hostilities of the voluptuaries to arrest his movement.

Nearly a year passed in the first struggles. Hitherto, Chaitanya had been working single-handed with the energy of his convictions to lay the foundation of his sect by getting together a body of staunch Tealous disciples. There now arrived an individual of estimable character and great religious merit, who brought a considerable accession of strength to his cause, and became his right-hand collaborator. Nityananda, a Radhya Brahman, was born on the same day with Chaitanya, at Ekchaka, near Cynthia, in Birbhum. His parents were Haru Ojha and Padmavati. Though the only son, he had been given away in his youth to a Sanyasi, with whom he wandered from pilgrimage to pilgrimage, till at last he arrived at Mathura in the abode of one Madhava Puri. Hearing here of Chaitanya's new mode of propagandism, he at once

travelled down to Nadiya. Many of his associates shared Chaitanya's intimacy, but congeniality of sentiment bound him and Nityananda in the closest fellowship. In honor of his arrival, a Kritan was held in which the enthusiasm of the votaries knew no bounds.

Chaitanya had brought his whole soul to his work. He allowed himself no rest in that work—its fulfilment being his one constant idea, thought, and exertion. His pioneering Kritans had broken the ground, and brought about excellent results by attracting and giving coherence to a body of devoted worshippers round his central authority.\* More expanded views then began to be entertained. Bent upon progressive movement and action in an enlarged sphere, he organised the tactics to give a public currency to the name of Hari in every household and family at Nadiya. Two confidants, Nityananda and Haridasa, were commissioned with this duty. Every morning they went from door to door educating the people to call to Hari—a good old practice that still survives, awakening sinners with the name of God from their beds. They succeeded with a small approving minority. The rest were obstinate scouters, sneerers, contemners, and revilers who gave no heed to them, and entered upon a counter-movement. The bitterest enemies were the exasperated Vamacharis, who felt the purity of the new doctrines as particularly levelled at them. They adopted the resolution of encountering their adversaries with open warfare. One day, two bullies and swaggerers of their class, Jagai and Madhai, assailed Nityananda on the road by hurling a stone at his head. No sooner did Chaitanya receive the news of this violence than he went to the rescue with a large body of his followers. He found Nityananda covered with blood. But instead of retaliation and vengeance on the assailants, he made use of the opportunity to display the virtues and the perfection of his god-like character. He prayed to his Hari for mercy upon their souls. The lookers-on stood admiring his meekness and forbearance—his true Vairagism. They recognised the good-features of his creed—how it quenches all feeling of revenge, how it makes us minded to forgive and forget. Upon Jagai and Madhai, the forgiveness worked a miracle. They at once went down upon their knees, implored for blessing, and turned into the most devoted followers.

\* In figurative language, it was the miracle of a stone of the mango, that put into the earth, forthwith took root, germinated, grew into a large tree, and bore ripe fruits.

Preaching from door to door was sowing the seed broadcast in the community. Its germination next engaged the attention. Something like hot-house' artificiality was adopted towards this end. It was the project of a grand Kritan-procession at night, with lighted torches, through the streets of the town—the first of its kind by which the genius of Chaitanya inaugurated the public open-air preaching that is imitated in our day by the Brahmos, the European Missionaries, and the Salvationists for its immense popular effect. Preparations corresponding to the importance of the thing were made. Every Vaishnava assembled on the occasion, making an enormous concourse of several thousands. Chaitanya divided it into four bodies. The van was arranged to be led by the veteran Adwaita. The second group was headed by Haridasa. The third was placed in charge of Srivasa. He himself, with Nityananda, was to bring up the rear. By nightfall, the torches were lit up, and all Nadiya was ablaze with illumination. Along the streets, the door of each Vaishnava household was lighted, and adorned with the brimful pot, the graceful plantain, and festoons of flower and mango-foliage. On the appointed signal, the procession made its start, and took its course through the main street of the towns. It was an unprecedented instance and felicitous innovation in the history of reform. From far and near, thousands had come to witness the novel spectacle. In solemn steps and slow, the procession moved along *Hariboling* in chorus with mellifluous accents. Mingled with the sweet hosanas, were instances of genuflexions, *ashtanga*-prostrations, and dancing. The air rang with the tink of the Mandira and the rub-a-dub of the *Mridanga*—an instrument first invented and introduced into these Kritans by the gifted Mukunda. Over all, the great object of admiration was Chaitanya himself, with his fair attractive person, and engaging youthful countenance, moving in measured steps, with upraised hands, and hymning with a clear melodious voice to his Divinity in a fervent passion. He was as it were the very personification of his favourite Hari, going along distributing the Draught of Immortality,—“the observed of all observers.”

আজ কি আনন্দ হেরি নদীরার মাঝে ।

রাজ পথে চলিছেন গৌরাজ, নিতাই সজ আর বহু ভক্তবৃন্দ,  
কি শোভা বিরাজে ॥

মুদ্রের বোল, তাহে হরি বোল,  
কি মধুর শুনিতে পাই ।

যে যেখানে আছে, মত্ত হয়ে গেছে,  
কারো সজা নাই ॥

সংকীৰ্ত্তন করিতে, নাচিতে নাচিতে,  
 কৌর-প্রেমে যাকরারি।  
 হানিছেন কানিছেন, পড়িছেন উঠিছেন,  
 যেন সব বিশেষহারি॥  
 যত লোক ছিল, প্রেমেতে বজিল,  
 অন্য দিকে নাহি মন।  
 গৌর গৌর করি, গৌর নাম অরি,  
 গৌর প্রেমে অচেতন।

কীরেদ নাথ রারি।

From the main street and the bazars, the procession debouched into the strand along the Bhagirathi. It stopped before the door of the Kazi, with whom Chaitanya held a conciliating interview. Thence, it proceeded through Banya-para and Tantipara, two wards the people of which were particularly favourable to his movement. Finally, rounding two villages in the suburbs, it arrived in the house of one Sridhara, where, after Kritaning awhile, the gathering broke up and dispersed.

Two thousand years ago, had Buddha figured in a similar character. He also wandered, from place to place, and preached to the populace. But his public-teaching was in the form of lectures, discussions, and controversies, that were addressed to the understanding and worked slowly. Chaitanya's method produced results instantaneously. He touched the heart, and, kindling enthusiasm, won over at once. His open-air Kritan-procession was a coup-de-grace that produced unbounded success. As it passed along, a strong devotional emotion rose in, and caused a turn of, the mind. The appeal, made in a most catching form, went straight to the bosoms and roused the inner man. A general sensation ensued in the town and its neighbourhood. The females, always and everywhere the most prone to welcome and the firmest to adhere, became eager to embrace the innovation. The jealous Pandits owned "the soft impeachment." The wassailers and libertines too melted in many instances. The Banyas turned into followers wholesale. To the lower orders, Vaishnavism became an inviting refuge for a status in society. Thus, the "waters of faith inundated the sacred city of Navadwipa," and a tide set in, that held a steady onward course influencing men of all classes, and counteracting popular ill-will and persecution. The struggle-stage was over. The plant got so deeply rooted as to out-weather every storm. The time for fruition was hopefully expected.



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No. 8.—AUGUST 1892.

*THE INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF INDIA.*

VII.

INDIAN TRADE AND COMMERCE ; ITS HISTORIC AND GENERAL GROWTH.—India had been famed from the earliest times as a great trading country. Those who have read the accounts of the Greek authors who described the courts of India will remember how the vast trade of the country and the industrial genius of her inhabitants are spoken of. Until the revolution effected by the introduction of steam to the purposes of manufacture and commerce in the West began to exercise a corresponding influence in the East, India supported a large industrial population and her commerce was almost as large as that of any European country in the zenith of its prosperity. The produce of India figures in the oldest and most ancient books. The royalty and nobility of Sparta and Athens, of Carthage and Rome, drew a large quota of their precious possessions from the broad valleys of the Ganges and the Indus. Siberia, China and the other countries of Asia, do not appear on the pages of European history, till comparatively modern times. Even Arabia, the land of camels and the date-palm, which saw the birth of the greatest of the proselytizing religions of the globe, does not come within the cognizance of European history, till its fierce hordes sacked the fairest provinces of Europe and took possession of that envied spot of the civilized world, the golden

Horn. The aromatic drugs and spices of the Indian continent, its silk and cotton fabrics, its jewellery and its embroidery, were the delight of the Caliphs of Bagdad, the grandees of Rome, the autocrats of Spain, and the merchants of Holland and Belgium. India was the fabled land of the pagoda tree, and the most energetic and enterprising of European nations did their best to contrive means for sharing in her splendid commerce. It was to seek the shortest way to India that Columbus undertook the voyage resulting in the discovery of America. It was to find out the means of participating in the advantages of Indian commerce, that Vasco de Gama set out from Lisbon on his ever-memorable voyage. Indian commerce contributed not a little to the opulence and the prosperity of the well-known cities of Asia, of that important city of the middle ages which has been called the Queen of the Adriatic. India is still a great commercial country, but her commerce according to modern ideas is quite inadequate to the vastness of her natural resources and the extent and density of her population. The commerce of mediæval India ran however along channels and was conducted in accordance with means, far different from those which are in vogue at the present day. The commerce of modern India has grown up again under British protection after a period of internal disquiet and disturbance. The great emporiums of the Indian continent were for a time at the mercy of every freebooter, and the industrial population was in such a state of constant panic and troublous unrest that trade and commerce were to a great extent destroyed. It is felt on all sides that the present trade of the country has not proved the means of bringing competence to a large part of the Indian population, and that new industries are an absolute necessity. Before we touch on that industrial problem with a consideration of which the present series will end, it would be useful to give an account of the general trade and commerce of the country, and to sketch its historic development. While we shall not fail to give to our readers an approximate idea of the actual extent of Indian commerce, we shall keep clear of statistical tables as far as possible. The present writer, who has made a conscientious study of many treatises giving in detail the history of British commerce knows very well how insipid, if not positively distasteful, the trade tables appear to every one but those who have an innate taste for statistics, and who have theories of their own to be tested by the facts of actual life.

Dr. Robertson in his well-known book, the History of Charles V., has given the characteristics of a European city of the middle ages. That eminent writer traces the peculiarities of such a

city, which was merely the court and camp of some king or powerful baron; with great fulness and fidelity, and shows that under the circumstances of political society in those days no other centres of population were possible. In the historic times in India, its cities possessed the above characteristics in a special degree. Delhi and Agra, Gour, Dacca and Murshidabad were nothing else than the court and camp of the reigning sovereigns. Artisans skilled in many branches of manufacture, settled around these abodes of splendour, and when the cities were abandoned, some of them still remained and carried on their hereditary occupation. The trade of India in the middle ages consisted simply of the land trade in carrying the articles of use and luxury from one great inland city to another by means of caravans and carts of which we find so many instances even at the present day. The foreign trade of India was carried on through the Himalayan passes to Persia, Arabia and Central Asia. The caste system prevailing among the Hindus and the tendency to keep to hereditary occupations that is a ruling taste with the Mahomedans, ensured the perpetual prosperity of the Indian industries, and made them to be kept up in a state of the highest efficiency. The immortal founder of the system of modern Positive philosophy, has dwelt upon the influence of the Indian caste-system in preserving the arts and handicrafts with a precision of argument which I can only hope faintly to imitate, and it will be admitted by all that whatever may be the evils and disadvantages of the Indian caste-system as a social institution it had a great economic value in the way indicated above. The centres of the authority of Mogul Sovereigns and Mogul Viceroy's all declined after a time, and Indian trade underwent considerable fluctuations. The sea-borne trade of India was confined within very small dimensions before the advent of the European nations. In the middle of the 17th century we find, however, the Dutch, the Portuguese, the Danes, the French and the English busy in establishing factories at sea-port villages and marts, and striving to get the Indian produce in exchange for their own commodities, to be sold in the markets of Europe. There are still some remains of the brisk industrial activity that had once for its scene the extensive sea-board of India. The cities of Pondicherry and Chandernagore, and the trading marts of Goa, Daman and Diu, still remind the modern citizens of the days when the rivalry of European nations was at its fever heat in the Eastern waters and the Indian continent, and which have been depicted so well in the pages of Orme. The English nation makes its appearance almost last in the series

of the European nations, and through circumstances which have, indeed, no parallel in the history of the world a company of merchants incorporated for trading purposes becomes the founder of an Empire which is probably the brightest jewel in the Imperial Crown. It is not necessary for the purposes of the present series of articles to enter into an elaborate discussion of the events which transformed the East India Company into a Sovereign power or the means by which this state of things has been brought about. The commerce of the country, after the conquest and consolidation, took new channels altogether. The British Empire gradually brought within its confines an absolute security of life and property—a condition of things never before known in Asiatic countries; every man became sure that he would enjoy the produce of his own labour. During the days of Mogul ascendancy, and that of the Maharatta free-booters and the Pindari marauders, the industry and commerce of the country were at the lowest ebb, but trade gradually revived and expanded under British protection. The English nation had been taunted in the early part of the present century, as a nation of shopkeepers, by one of the greatest of men, and there is no doubt that commercial instincts are graven in their hearts by nature herself, and culture and experience have taught them to improve their opportunities in this respect to the best of their power. The places where the English planted their earliest factories soon expanded to the dimensions of vast cities. The once bleak rock against which the sea-foam only used to beat, which Charles II thought so inconsiderable a possession that he made a free gift of it to the East India Company, has become, during a century and a quarter of British rule, one of the proudest of Eastern cities, and the great emporium of the trade of Upper India, the Western Presidency, Central India and the Central Provinces. The marshes in the delta of the Hugli, which were the seat of a few insignificant villages, and where the English planted their factories as affording a place for easy shipment, have now been reclaimed and are being inhabited by the busy, industrial, and intellectual population of the metropolitan districts. The unhealthy spots which were the abode of water-fowl and venomous serpents have now been turned into promenades and strands over which the intellect, the beauty, and the fashion of the metropolis of the British-Indian Empire, ride every evening in their prettiest dresses and gayest equipages. Calcutta and Bombay are the two great trading cities of the British Empire in the East, and the fraction they divide between them has been estimated at about 40 per cent of the whole sea-borne trade of

India. The other sea-port towns on both the coasts of the Indian peninsula as well as Rangoon, Akyab and Chittagong have between them the remaining twenty per cent. Madras takes about one-third of this last mentioned item and the remainder is distributed all over. The produce of the broad valleys of the powerful rivers that intersect Bengal and Assam, of the rich wheat indigo and opium fields of Behar and the eastern districts of the, North-Western Provinces, find their way to Europe through Calcutta.

A similar function is performed by Bombay with reference to the produce of Rajputana, the Central and Western districts of the Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-Western Provinces, the Eastern portion of the Land of the five rivers, and the rich tracts of the Central Provinces and Central India by Bombay. Karachi is a rising sea-port town and the lower valleys of the Indus and its tributaries send their produce to the sea direct through Karachi. Extensive dockyards have been erected by means of European Capital in Bombay for facilitating the landing and the despatch of goods and Calcutta is trying fast to imitate Bombay in this matter. The landing has always been difficult in Madras and that has been one of the greatest of the hindrances to her appropriating the natural share of the trade of her own Presidency. The sea-port towns on both the shores of the Indian ocean carry on a brisk trade among themselves in small coasting canoes and they are not unimportant centres either for import or export. Before we proceed to discuss the balance of Indian trade, it is necessary to mention that in addition to this vast sea-borne trade of India and the coasting traffic of which mention has just been made, there are two other sorts of traffic. These are the internal trade of the country and the trade across the Indian frontier. The coasting trade is confined on a large scale to the ports of Tuticorin, Coconada, Calicut and those on the Malabar coast. The Madras government has had for some years past extensive projects for constructing a system of defence works for these ports, to give an absolute security to their trade as against cyclones and storm-waves, but up to the present time not much progress has been made in this direction. The frontier trade on the west is carried on through the three well-known passes, the Khyber pass, the Bolan pass and the Gomal pass, and is chiefly in the hands of the stalwart Panjabees and the hardy mountaineers of Afghanistan. Immense efforts have been made by the British Government to establish a continuous traffic with Thibet and through Thibet with the Western provinces of the Chinese Empire. But these have as yet resulted in almost nothing and have merely given rise to political complications. There is

direct traffic between Kashgar, Yarkand and Ladakh and some of the districts of the Panjab. The Himalayan sheep and yaks are the agencies of transport, and while Indian produce is sent out, the shawls of Central Asia, and bullion of gold and silver are imported in return. The shawls of Kashmir and the neighbouring countries have never been excelled. Readers of Aitchison's Treaties will remember that by its compact with the British Government entered into in 1846, the Kashmir state has annually to present three pairs of the finest shawls among other articles as its tribute to the Paramount power. These pairs of shawls have always been made a present of, by the Government of India to Her Imperial Majesty and been used by our Queen-Empress as bridal gifts on the occasions of marriages in her Royal family. We are, indeed, tempted here to quote the elegant description given of these shawls by persons who had acquired the taste and the capacity to judge, but it would serve no useful purpose by our doing so, as they are sufficiently familiar to our Indian readers. The Northern districts of Behar and the N.-W. P. and Oudh, carry on an extensive trade with the semi-independent state of Nepal, and this trade is chiefly carried on by holding village markets and rural fairs, in the *terai* districts. The principal trade route to Nepal is that which passes from Patna through the districts of Champaran and Matihari direct to the capital of the Nepal dominions, Katmandu, but even this route is in too primitive a condition to allow of an extensive wheeled traffic even if the vehicles be of the rudest possible description. The frontier trade of Assam consists chiefly of the bartering by the hill tribes of their raw cotton and other forest produce for Indian goods. The trade with Bhutan and Sikkim has not yet developed to any but very inconsiderable dimensions. It is, indeed, very interesting to read, by the light of the events of the present day in the commercial world, the accounts of the first cargoes that the East India Company brought to these shores and took in exchange. The trade of India has not what is known to be a proper balance on both sides. The exports considerably exceed the imports. The former is at least one-third as large as the latter, and this is accounted for by the fact that India has more to sell to the world than she requires to buy from it. The most recent figures on the subject show this excess to come to somewhere near 36 millions sterling. This is a state of things that requires some explanation and a good deal has been furnished from time to time. The theories of the political economists are well-known that the healthy state of the trade of a country requires that the whole of its exports should be equal to

the whole of its imports. Exception is made in favor of India when this theory is cited by the modern official world on the ground that the circumstances of India are quite peculiar and that she must be viewed from a different standpoint altogether. The official theory in India is that of the favorable balance of trade standing to India's credit nearly one-third she receives in hard cash, with another third she pays the interest on her national debt and the debt that has been contracted to construct public works of immense magnitude, and with the other third she liquidates the Home Charges that comprise the Civil and the Military pensions the establishment expenses and the salaries of the India office officials and other imperial expenses. We are not concerned in an industrial history of India with the political bearings of the imperial charges on Indian revenues made in England; but we cannot help observing that the incessant increase of this item of expenditure coupled with the difficulties created by the unfavorable rates of exchange, is a ruinous burden to the revenues of India which all right-minded critics have condemned.

The Indian imports and exports are now taking advantage to a large extent of the Suez Canal route. The old route round the Cape of Good Hope is still resorted to by the sailing vessels but about half of the entire trade of India now passes through the Suez Canal. The imports and exports have been thus alphabetically arranged by a high official authority. The imports are apparel, arms, ammunition, books, paper, and stationery, coal, cotton twist and yarn, piece-goods and manufactured-goods, drugs and medicines, dyes, fruits, vegetables, glass, guns, hardware, horses, ivory, jewellery, liquors, metals, oils, paints, perfumery, porcelain, provisions, railway, plants, salt, manufactured silk, sugar, tea, tobacco, umbrellas, wood, wool, besides hard cash and the government stores. The exports are—coffee, coir, cordage, raw and manufactured cotton, drugs, indigo and other dyes, rice, wheat and other food-grains, gums, hemsps, hides and raw skins, horns, ivory, jewellery, jute (raw and manufactured), lac, oil, opium, saltpetre, seeds, silk, spices, sugar, tea, tobacco, wood, wool (raw and manufactured) besides treasure and the Government exports. We shall dwell elsewhere on the currency question of India as a whole, and we reserve till then a consideration of the economic aspects of the importation of treasure which is triumphantly pointed out by the official optimists as giving evidence of an unceasing prosperity of the country. The fluctuations in the values of gold and silver have resulted in a large decrease in the exportation of gold and a large increase in the importation of the



white metal. India has a practical monopoly of the rice market of Europe, and Germany and France as well as the British Isles are her largest customers in this respect. India has got an almost entire free trade. She has been made to conform to the principles of political economy at a much earlier period than her financial condition warranted. She has thus not only been made to sacrifice a large amount of revenue which would have been available for her legitimate wants, but even political economists sanction the protection of young industries. Those who are familiar with the history of the commerce of the world, as given in the pages of such books as those of Leone Levi, Thorold Rogers, and others, will remember how slowly it was that the principles of political economy found acceptance even in the most civilized of European States. We should not forget that England, the great apostle of free trade, did not hesitate long to tax the Indian silver ware not only for the purposes of revenue but also for protecting the indigenous silver industry which was admittedly of an inferior type. The United States of America, and the Australian Colonies have learnt to accept the teachings of modern political economy and they as yet protect a good many of their industries. The high authority of the greatest statesman of modern England, Mr. Gladstone, is on the side of protecting the infant industries. The real causes of the entire free trade that has been given to India of late are not so much the practice of the principles of political economy, as the giving of a free field to Manchester goods. The over-philanthropic gentlemen of Lancashire have lately taken pity at the hard lot of the labourers at the Bombay Cotton mills and want to cut short the hours of labour by means of legislative restrictions. There is no hope that anything would be done by the Government in this direction, but if our countrymen are resolved to carry out the noble project of protecting the indigenous industry of the country, an appreciable amount of good is sure to be effected.

The balance of India's trade with China is adjusted by a rather circuitous process. The large exports of opium and other things from India leave a large balance in her favor and this is calculated at nearly ten millions sterling. The exports of China to England place a large amount to the credit of the former country and this amount is there transferred to the credit of India. China has a large balance of trade in her favor in relation to England, and this excess, instead of being transmitted to her, is placed to the credit of India in her accounts which are always adjusted in England. Indian trade is carried on with the United

Kingdom, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, United States, Egypt, Persia, Mauritius, China and the Straits Settlements. The principal ports of embarkation and of landing, which show signs of future progress and development, are Calcutta, Bombay, Karachi, Rangoon and Madras. There is always an active competition between Calcutta and Bombay as to their commercial importance. The Chambers of Commerce of Eastern and Western India never hesitate to magnify their own importance and depreciate their rivals, but Bombay is fast outgrowing the commercial extent of Calcutta and the average has sometimes ranged so wide as 45 per cent and 35 per cent of Indian trade.

The trade of India employs a large part of the population and it feeds a large number of labourers. In the earliest times there was a special caste devoted to this particular branch of life, but with its revival under British auspices, the higher classes have taken to it. The commercial instincts of the Indians have made them penetrate into the heart of Central Asia and Africa. In the regenerated modern India of to-day the Parsis have made themselves conspicuous by their enterprize. The Banias of Gujrat, the Murwaris of Rajputana and the Chetties and Bhatiyas of the Madras and Bombay presidencies are brisk and active traders and have been gaining competence in many cases and in some have reached to opulence and fortune. The villages of India have all a resident trader and this man supplies the wants of the villagers at their own door. The resident trader knows what things are most in demand at that particular village and he often combines in his own person the capacities of a money-lender and cloth-seller. The internal trade of the country is carried on by means of fairs and large markets where all the inhabitants of the neighbouring places assemble and have their requisites. The commerce of the country is having also a very important influence over the agricultural pursuits of the people. The cultivators know that it is profitable to raise certain crops and that they might use the intervals between the reaping of one harvest and the sowing of another by raising subsidiary crops which would bring them a handsome profit. The facilities for communication between the different parts of the country have made internal trade expand to vast proportions and during the famines of 1873-4 and 1877-8 it had been conclusively proved that the capacity for internal trade of the country could bear the strain put upon it even in those seasons of exceptional distress. In a country like India where there cannot but be local failures of the harvest occasionally, the trade of the country was the resource against those ever-recurring calamities. These

was a time within the memory of our oldest men when it was thought necessary to grant remissions of taxation because the harvest was over-abundant, and the cultivators did not even take the trouble to reap it, which was allowed to rot in the fields. The reason for this was that in the early part of the present century there were no facilities for transmitting the produce of one part of the country to another, and consequently there was no market for surplus production. A bumper harvest would, in these days, be hailed with the sincerest rejoicing and would be the means of bringing wealth to the fortunate district. The present system of trade in the country is carried on chiefly through certain great commercial marts that have risen to importance in quite recent times. The instance of several great towns in the Punjab, North-West Behar and the Central Provinces that are the centres where the produce of the surrounding countries show the direction in which commerce would increase the opulence and the prosperity of the country. Many Anglo-Indian writers have instanced the growth of Dongargaon in the plateau of Chhatisgarh as 'marvellous'. This is the great wheat-producing tract of India and the above-named village which was half a century ago but an insignificant village, has now risen to the importance of a large town carrying on an extensive trade in wheat. The Indian fairs which form a chief agency for the sale of the Indian merchandise and raw produce are very interesting things. There go on, probably in the pleasantest season of the year, a brisk buying and selling and the fair which lasts several weeks affords a social and industrial reunion of the happiest sort. It is a great pity that many of these time-honored fairs and industrial marts are becoming obsolete in the altered circumstances of the country. Those who have bestowed a serious thought on this important subject cannot but regard the industrial conferences of Puna and Calcutta with any feelings but those of the liveliest congratulation. The mind of educated India needs to be turned towards this subject. The first generation of English scholars saw in beef-steaks and fowl cutlets, a regenerated India. The more sober generation that followed found out that regeneration lay in intellectual advancement through the literature and science of the West. The progress that had been made in this direction was indeed marvellous. But it is beginning to be keenly felt that educational progress without material prosperity and well-being does only half the work, and it is a happy sign of the times that this truth is getting a fast hold of the national mind and is beginning to be recognized in a variety of forms. It is not for the present writer to suggest remedies for

this great object in an off hand manner. Nor does he believe that any single head is sufficient for this purpose. This duty should be entrusted to a Commission of which the most experienced men of every part of India should be the members and which must arrive at their conclusions after a full, thorough, searching, and exhaustive enquiry. The Government is sure to grant such a Commission if prayed for by the united voice of the country.

SATYA CHANDRA MUKERJI.

## OUTLINES OF HINDU CELEBRITIES.

CHAITANYA.

### II.

Two years passed in quietly inoculating the minds of a few chosen disciples and in making a public announcement of his doctrines. The first ground gained, he longed for a wider diffusion of his creed. Chaitanya also wanted to justify himself in the eyes of the world by a career of unadulterated impressive sanctity. No imposing prophetic character had been assumed by him. He professed not to be an inspired teacher, pretending to revelation and a divine mission. He was no miracle-worker. Extremely modest and simple hearted, he knew no sham, and practised not a make-believe. He had not shown from his youth a religious bent of mind. The idea of a religion came to him unsought—it was a spontaneity. Ambition did not impel him—interest was not his object. He meant not to make capital. He rode no hobby. He simply thought of promoting the spiritual welfare of his fellowmen in pursuit of it himself. This object he sought to obtain purely by dint of stainless rectitude of conduct. From nothing but the experience of success, did he become actuated with the motive of having his doctrines more largely accepted by his countrymen, and of confirming his dominion over their minds. To this end, he meditated upon an act of self-denial the most serious of its kind. It was to turn “God’s hero”—the noblest of all human characters, and exalt himself in all men’s opinion. Young in years, his motives were liable to suspicion and misinterpretation. He therefore wanted to silence all cavils, and to appear favourably without a flaw in his career compared with other religious reformers.

The step which Chaitanya, after long and deep communing with himself, had decided to take, was his turning a Sanyasi. His fervent zeal for the sacred ideal which he had enshrined in his soul, consumed all earthly ties and affections. In its cause, he felt bound to make any sacrifice, or he would not be thought equal to his enterprise, and incur the reproach of half-heartedness. He

did not fail to foresee what would be the cost of his determination. It would cut him off from all that is dear in this life—from home, parent, wife, and every thing in the name of earthly enjoyment. But with him, to purpose was to act—and that most heroically. Like Buddha, he did not silently steal away from home. He braved the shock of disclosure to his mother, wife, and friends. They made the most moving remonstrances. He reasoned with them, and prepared their minds for the inevitable. The day fixed for his departure was the last day of Pous (12th January)—a day sacred in the Hindu calendar for the sun's entering on his Northern Ascension. The day previous to it was spent according to his custom. Towards its evening, he took a walk with some of his friends along the Bhagirathi. After nightfall, he held his last interview with them. None knew that he was going away the next morning. As usual, they had come in with their fond presents of fruits and flowers. Sridhara had brought for him a fresh pumpkin of his own garden. It was a favourite vegetable with Chaitanya. That Sridhara might not regret his leaving it untasted, he ordered it to be cooked that very night for his meal. Bidding his kind good-bye to each and all, he went in for his supper. Spending a while with his wife, he retired to sleep, but scarcely had a wink—the thoughts of the great and important step big with his fate wholly occupying his mind. Early at dawn of the appointed day, he left his bed. His mother, awakened by the stir of his preparations, got up and sat at the door barring egress. It was the most painful moment in his life, between tearing himself away from his two most beloved beings on earth, and his resolution not to recede from his purpose. Nothing is so difficult as to prevail with those who would not be comforted. In supplicating terms Chaitanya addressed his mother that he obeyed the will of heaven in quitting her. Taking the dust of her feet, and going round her three times invoking her *assis* or blessing, he left his home never to cross its threshold again. He who has felt what an ordeal such heart-rending parting is, can justly estimate the moral worth of Chaitanya, and gauge the intensity of his devotedness to his cause.

No doubt, he was touched with some feelings of natural sorrow. But he departed with unfaltering steps—his “mind, rich beyond example in the gold of heaven, throwing a lustre over the black waste before him, and peopling it with a bright creation of her own.” Going a little distance alone, he was joined by five of his most intimate followers, Nityananda, Gaḍadhara, Mukunda, Chandrasekhara, and Brahmananda. His journey was directed to

Katwa, where he arrived at the abode of Kesava Bharati, a Gosain who had on an occasion been to Nadiya, and been entertained by Chaitanya as his guest. To the generation of our day, it is not known that Kesava Bharati was the ancestor of Babu Shamacharn Sircar, late Interpreter of the Calcutta High Court. This fact was communicated to us by the Babu himself. Chaitanya made known his intention, and not without much importunity and solicitation prevailed upon the Gosain to comply with his request.

Next day, came the renunciation. Hundreds of both sexes assembled to witness the solemn ceremony. The men stood aghast at so young and handsome a man in the heyday of his blood going through the operation. The women pitied the condition of the wife who was losing so precious a husband. Chaitanya had very fine locks of hair admired by all. Every one deplored his parting with them. The barber who shaved him on this occasion, was Madhu Napit.\* The spot, where Chaitanya shook off the obligations of society, lies close upon the bank of the Bhagirathi, by the side of which Kesava Bharati had his abode. They have erected over it a small temple, in which two wooden images of Nityananda and Chaitanya, in a dancing attitude, have been put up. The hairs parted with on the occasion are preserved as a sacred relic. We visited this temple in August, 1846. The original name of Nimai was dropped, and that of Krishna Chaitanya was adopted now. The date of his Vairagism is the 1st day of Magh, Saka 1431, or A. D. 1509. He was in his 24th year then. Buddha renounced the world in his 29th year.

Dressed in scanty dull-yellow raiments, with his shaven head, a stick in one hand, and an alms-bowl in the other, Chaitanya stood in all the verity of a Vairagi, and in a new individuality. The thoughts of heaven deeply seated in his soul, diffused a tranquil dignity and benign composure over his demeanour. There was a sublimity in the event, accompanied with a solemn feeling in the minds of the assembled crowd, under which they looked upon him as the accredited agent of heaven for the consummation of divine purposes. The first thing Chaitanya did was to send down Chandrasekhara to Nadiya with the news of his renunciation. The afflicting intelligence cast a gloom over that city. His mother lamented in the most distressing manner. His wife uttered the most piteous cries, and exhibited a heart-rending spectacle. But there was a sudden turn of feeling at the news of his *Sanyasism*. Men's opinion undergoing a change now ran in one strong current

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\* Sircar's *Vyavastha Darpana*.

in his favor. Those who derided his chimerical enterprise and scoffed at him as a dreamer, no longer hesitated to acknowledge his moral ascendancy. No more did any body question his earnest, devoutness and generous motive. They all did justice, and henceforth regarded him as a high-minded benefactor. He became the theme of every tongue.

Leaving Katwa, Chaitanya started upon his vagrancy. He was accompanied by Nityananda, Gadadhara, Mukunda, Brahmananda, and Kesava Bharati. They proceeded westward along the river Ajaya, through Birbhum, towards Vakeswara. Tired and sunburnt, they sat down for a while under the shade of a banian tree. Local tradition remembers it under the name of Bislamta, which we have passed by in sailing up the Ajaya. To all appearance, the hoary banian, with "daughter" and grand-daughter trunks, is three to four hundred years old, and is most likely the identical tree or they may have renewed it with a new graft to hold it in memory.

About four kos remained to Vakeswara, when Chaitanya suddenly changed his mind, and turned back to proceed to Nilachala, at Puri in Orissa. Crossing the Bhagirathi, he went on to Fulia, near Ula, while Nityananda made his way to Nadiya to invite the Vaishnava confraternity there to an interview with their Prabhu, or spiritual leader, at Santipur, where, halting for a day or two with Haridasa at Fulia, Chaitanya intended to become the guest of Adwaitananda. Meanwhile, Nadiya presented a scene of unusual excitement on Nityananda's arrival. The public despondency there was succeeded by a blaze of joy. The Vaishnava community received his invitation with outbursts of rapturous delight. Nothing but tumult and hurry reigned among them in making preparations for their journey to Santipur. Group after group sailed down the Bhagirathi for that place, raising joyous shouts and acclamations. Over land, they went on Kritaning in a grand procession to the house of Adwaita. Sachidevi departed under the escort of Nityananda. All set out for Santipur, excepting poor Vishnupriya, who remained behind bewailing her hard lot to be alone denied the privilege of beholding her beloved husband—the Shastras forbidding her appearance before him after his Vairagism. Chaitanya received his flock with his usual affection. He heartily welcomed his mother—his equanimity for a moment being upset by deep filial emotions. The congregation resembled a mela, which, with *kirtan* and other festivities, continued for ten days. The rejoicings of the re-union being over, Chaitanya took due leave of his mother, and, bidding farewell to his friends and



followers, departed for Nilachala. Those who bore him company, were Nityananda, Gadadhara, Mukunda, Govinda, Brahmananda, and Jagadananda.

The travels of Chaitanya throw a light on the geography of Lower Bengal in his age. Many of the places mentioned in the Chaitanya Charitamrita are yet identifiable on our map. Setting out from Santipur, he proceeded southwards along the eastern bank of the Bhagirathi. The first place he halted at was Atisara. Next day, he reached Chatrabhoga. Here, the view of the Ganges, spread in a sea-like expanse, made a most solemn impression on his mind. "The Gung (Ganges) there," says Abul Fazil, in his *Ayin-i-Akbari*, "after having divided into a thousand channels, joins the sea at Satgong, and the Sirsuthy (Sarasvati) and Jown (Jamna) discharged themselves in like manner." Chatrabhoga does not exist now. Its site may be supposed to have been on the eastern bank, opposite to Triveni and Satgong. From that town, Chaitanya embarked in a boat for Orissa. In those days, the kingdom of Orissa extended northwards up to Triveni, where the old ghat of Raja Mukunda Deva still exists. Tamluk and Midnapur were then included in Sarkar Jelasor. The road to Orissa then lay via Jehanabad and Madaran—the last being now an obscure village not many miles west of Hughli, but which once gave its name to Sarkar Madaran,\* in Todar Mal's rent-roll. Most probably Chaitanya's river-journey extended down to Tamluk, whence, taking to the above-mentioned route, he slowly travelled to Nilachala. It is not said whether he rested at Nimai-tirtha's Ghat, near Baddibati, on this or on a subsequent occasion.

In Puri, then resided Vasudeva Saurvabhauma Bhattacharya of Nadiya, who was employed in the service of the Raja there as superintendent of the worship of Jagannatha. He was a most learned Pundit particularly remarkable for being a redoubtable Vedantist. Finding Chaitanya in a deep trance at Jagannath's temple, and coming to learn that he was a fellow townsman of Nadiya, Sarvabhauma carried him to his residence, and hospitably treated him with every attention. Living together for a few days, and becoming intimate with each other, they fell into those inevitable discussions which ended in the conversion of Sarvabhauma to the new Vaishnava faith. Chaitanya's success over him was a prodigious event the news of which overwhelmed with confusion and humiliation all those Pandits who

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\* See Blochmann's account of this place in the *Asiatic Journal* No. 4, for April, 1870.

yet forbore to sympathise with him, and frowned with coldness upon his movement. It created also a great sensation at Puri, where his tenets daily recommended themselves to the acceptance of large numbers of the Oriyas. Staying for two months, and enjoying the Dol-Jatra festival there, Chaitanya set off on his religious tour of the Dekhan by the beginning of the Bengali year in A. D. 1510. He took with him a single attendant, named Krishtadasa.

His route first of all lay through that part of ancient Kalinga, which is now the Northern Circars. The tract is one of the most populous, through which he passed along halting at many places, and increasing his fold—the example of his devout piety influencing more efficaciously than his tenets. He excited an eager curiosity in the course of his progress. The country poured forth its inhabitants anxious to get a sight of him, whom all regarded as more divine than human. The enthusiasm spread in all the villages, and his fame resounded throughout the land.

On coming up to the Godaveri, he broke his journey for a few days at Vidyānagara, where he had promised Sarvabhauma to visit his friend Rai Ramananda. The Rai, a fellow-sectarian, so extremely delighted our traveller with his accomplishments that an intimate friendship was mutually contracted by the two. From Vidyānagara, Chaitanya travelled southwards down to Setuband or Ramesaram, and thence to the temple of Kumari, at Cape Comorin. He met everywhere with a hospitable reception from the Ramanujas, or followers of Ramanuja. His merit was honored with recognition by many a Pandit overcome in controversy. Turning back from the extreme south, he went towards Sri Ranga (Seringapatam) on the Caverry, where he visited the temple of Sri Ranga Natha, an image of Vishnu founded by Ramanuja. Here, he was cordially received by one Bhatta, a fellow Vaishnava, with whom he spent four months in a congenial element. Next, he visited the famous shrines of Karnata and Malabar—Hindu princes then ruling in those countries. The Kingdom of Vijayanagara then existed in all its power. In the course of his travels, Chaitanya always kept a watchful look-out for copies of rare works—one of them being the *Brahma Sangita*, of which he could procure only a few chapters. From Malabar, he proceeded to Kolapur, where, in the temple of Vitalanatha (Krishna), he became acquainted with Srirangapuri, a disciple of Madhavapuri. Together with this man, he made his journey to Dwarka, in Guzerat. Thence, visiting Panchavati, the famous abode of Rama in exile, near Nasik, and Trimbak, near Ahmednagara, he traced back his way in a south-

eastern direction, through Warangal and Telingana, to the abode of Ramananda Rai. His route on this occasion was very nearly the same as that through which, a hundred years afterwards, the rebellious Shah Jehan accomplished his long and arduous retreat before the chasing army of his father to Bengal; and through which also Sivaji, escaping from Delhi disguised as a mendicant, found his way back to Raighar. Chaitanya asked Ramananda to come along with him. His invitation was accepted with a promise of following him in a few days. After an absence of two years, our religious itinerant returned to his friends at Nilachala.

Puri had become a warm-hearted Vaishnava city during Chaitanya's first sojourn. His return to it from his travels was hailed with universal greetings and acclamations. The Raja of Orissa, contemporaneous with Chaitanya, was Pratap Rudra. He, too, had become a warm admirer, who accorded to him a flattering reception by the assurance that every thing he might stand in need of was at his command. The tidings of his return were received with transports of joy in Bengal. In Santipur and Nadiya, they went into a fever of excitement. Great was the agitation there among his particular friends to set out on a visit to him. Over two hundred Vaishnavas left for Nilachala. Their arrival was cordially welcomed. The Raja of Puri issued orders to supply the Prabhu with everything that he required for himself and his comrades at the royal expense. The visitors from Bengal remained for four months. It was during their stay at Puri that Chaitanya first persuaded his followers to observe no distinction of caste in their brotherhood. God, he said, regarded neither tribe nor family. Krishna did not disdain to eat in the house of Vidura, a Sudra. He carried out this rule in practice by his feeding all classes—the Brahman, the Sudra, the Chandala, and the Mahomedan—at one mess, with the *prasad* of Jagannatha, since which Manu's caste-law has become a dead-letter in Puri.

Next year, they again went from Bengal during the Rathjatra festival. Two years were thus spent by Chaitanya. Towards the end of 1512 A.D., he prepared for a journey to Vrindavana. It was his intention to pass through Bengal, for which province he set out with his companions. On his way through Katak, he was entertained by Raja Pratap Rudra, whose Rani wished to have a sight of the extraordinary man spoken of by every-body. The Raja then sent him on in charge of an escort up to the frontiers of his kingdom. But after going a short distance, Chaitanya dismissed the long train of attendants retaining only a single officer to go along with him.

● In passing next through the estate of a Mahomedan Zamin-dar, his elevated character for piety so highly impressed that man, that, forgetting his national prejudices, he made the most liberal offer of his services, and provided the Prabhu with men and boats to reach him to Bengal.

The place Chaitanya landed at was Penhati, where he put up with Vidya-Vachaspati, who was Sarvabhauma's brother. He had a mind to spend here a few days, but numerous visitors crowding the small village, he was obliged to leave it one night, and proceed to Kumarhatta (Halisahar), and thence, via Kanchrapara, to Kuliagram. Several conspicuous Pandits of Nadiya, who had formerly treated him with derision, here waited upon him to efface its remembrance by their respectful adulations. From Kuliagram, Chaitanya went to Santipur, to meet his mother at Adwaita's house. From Santipur, he set out for Gauda. His journey thence resembled the progress of a hero, in the *veni, vidi, vici* style, who came, preached, and converted. He moved all Lower Bengal. Crowds of people from both sides of the Bhagirathi flocked and followed at his heels.

In the beginning of the 16th century, Gauda, consisting of a cluster of towns, was a city twenty miles in circumference. It was enclosed by a wall sixty feet high, and adorned with many stately mosques, colleges, baths, serais, and other buildings. The population numbered two millions of souls. So great was its opulence, that the rich ate from golden plates. The Patan king of Gauda then was Hussein Shah, a prince descended from the Prophet, and remarkable for his ability, benevolence, and piety. Like Buddha, who chose the great city of Kasi for his first arena, Chaitanya also turned his steps to Gauda for prosecuting his mission in the most respectable community of Bengal. The quarter he landed at was Ramkali, the abode of the first-class inhabitants. Now, it is a desolate spot with a few lone huts, but which is still locally remembered, and is annually the scene of a mela held in honor of the great Prabhu's memory. Gauda was mostly a Hindu city. Chaitanya's arrival there with devoted multitude in his train, created an extraordinary excitement that was felt even by Hussein Shah. He became the object of universal curiosity,—the theme of general wonder and admiration. His illustrious merit called forth recognitions from all classes of people. Crowds idolized him, and entered his fold. But the most remarkable of all converts were Rupa and Sonatana, two Hindu ministers of Hussein Shah, who were regarded as little better than Musalmans, and were known

by the Mahomedan names of Dabir Khas and Sakar Mullick. Rupa and Sonatana were two brothers of illustrious descent from the ancient Raja of Karnata. To improve his fortune, their grandfather came and settled in Bengal. Distinguished by great abilities, the two brothers rose to the high dignity of first subjects of the realm. They were not only very learned but also very devout men. Deeply impressed by the sanctity of Chaitanya's life and his pious labours for deliverance, they eagerly embraced his creed. Their sincerity in the conversion is vouched by their great sacrifices—by the resignation of their ministerial posts; their giving away their property to the last farthing; their leaving home, relatives, and friends; and their retiring to Vrindavana to pass the remainder of their days in devotion.

From Gauda, Chaitanya intended to proceed on his journey to Vrindavana. But finding the crowds of people in his wake to be a great drawback upon his progress, he was obliged to put it off to another occasion. On his way down to Nilachala, he again passed through Santipur, Kumarhatta, Penhati, and Varahanagara (Baranagar), visiting his old friends, and Raghava Pandit and Bhagavat Vachaspati at the last two places. At Varahanagara, he parted, leaving instructions with Nityananda to prosecute the work of his mission by going kritaning from village to village along the Bhagirathi. In due time, he arrived at Nilachala, where he spent four months, and then set forth for Vrindavana in the company of Balavhadra Bhattacharya. This time, he chose the solitary route through the jungles on the left of Katak, across the Kol countries of Sambalpur and Chutia Nagpur, and over the Jharkhandi mountains—the route followed by Hindusthani pilgrims to Jagannatha. Used to pedestrianism and to the privations of a Vairigi life, he travelled the long distance, finding delight "in each gentle and each dreadful scene and shelter in savage cots" on his way, until he arrived at Benares.

The author of the Tamil drama *Arichandra* (Harischandra), describes Benares, in the 14th century, as a city of "splendid temples, princely mansions, and millions of pinnacles." But we suspect this picture to be drawn largely from fancy, as Baber, two centuries later, describes all that space now covered by a succession of ghats and temples to have been "a forest." In the age of Chaitanya, however, there stood a great temple upon what is now *Madhu-rai-ki-dharara*. Tavernier saw it to "cover an extensive plot of ground." It was a Vishnu temple, dedicated to Bindu Madhu. Close by this temple, Chaitanya resided with his old acquaintances Tapana Misra and Chandrasekhara. Staying

with them for a fortnight, he passed on to Prayaga, or Allahabad, which, after three days, was left for Vrindavana.

During the 11th and 12th centuries, Vraja, hallowed by the acts and adventures of Krishna, was the most flourishing seat of his worship. But the Islamite came, and struck a fatal blow. The shrines abounding there were all demolished. The idols of note were desecrated, or transported beyond reach. Depopulated Vraja lost all its attractions. Scarcely did a pilgrim, like Jayadeva, remember its prestige, and turn his steps to it. The site of Vrindavana was entirely forgotten. Upon its soil lingered only the remnants of a scattered population. Hardly a voice broke in upon the solitude brooding over the scenes of Kanya's pastimes. The peacock gambolled, and the ape leapt from bough to bough in the Tamala groves sacred to his memory. Neglected Vrindavana lay in this wild, untenanted state for four centuries—its antiquities obliterated, its traditions forgotten, and its very name almost passed into oblivion.

In the same manner that the Christian world is indebted to the Empress Helena, the mother of Constantine, for her explorations of the unknown localities consecrated by the acts of the Redeemer, is the Hindu world indebted to Chaitanya and his disciples for the restoration of Vrindavana to its pristine importance and sanctity. He went into raptures on his first arrival at the beloved seat of his god. Fully to survey the hallowed region, he got upon an eminence—a little rocky knoll. The spot of his reconnoissance, and the tamarind tree under which he sat, are shown in Madanmohan's Mahalla. It is marked by the prints of his feet; which are much too small to be genuine, being those of a boy eight or ten years old, when Chaitanya was almost a full grown man, aged thirty years. The foot-prints are of wood, resembling a pair of common sandals. The tamarind tree is also suspicious—it is now in the prime of its growth, and does by no means look to be 400 years old.

Chaitanya happened to fall in with a disciple of Madhava Puri. He became acquainted also with a native Rajput of the place, named Kristadasa, the future author of the Chaitanya-Charitamrita, who had treasured many of the local traditions, and enlightened him on many points in the course of his circuit of Vrindavana and Vraja. But, after all, doubts still crossed his mind as to the accuracy of many of the holy sites and scenes. He resolved therefore to unlock the treasures of the sacred region, and subsequently deputed two of his favourite disciples, Rupa and Sonatana, to carry out his intention. Few men could be so eminently

qualified by their learning and zeal for the task entrusted to them. Duly instructed by his Prabhu, Sonatona\* first entered upon the undertaking. He left Benares, and commenced his labors from Agravana, or Agra, which forms the starting-point for the tour of Vraja. Rupa afterwards joined him. Procuring a copy of Mathura-Mahatama, they proceeded making careful researches, treasuring every precious tradition, examining every nook and vestige, identifying and localizing the scenes of every memorable event, disinterring and dragging into light what had been buried in darkness, and illumining the whole benighted region of Vraja. The local circumstances, and such as are determined by Nature herself, seldom undergo the changes that are brought on by time and man. It was impossible to mistake Goverdhana, the Mount from which Krishna had made known his miracles and oracles to the Yadus, and in a cave of which had been raised the first shrine on his apotheosis. It was impossible to mistake the landmarks pointing the site of Mathura or Mahavana. Kanya was re-instated, and his long-lost Vrindavana was re-opened to his pilgrims, who, from this period to the present day, have thronged thither in uninterrupted streams.

The same impression resulted in Vrindavana as elsewhere. Every one there regarded our young Vairagi as an uncommon being. His Kritans excited a general curiosity, attracting crowds to his door. In time, they poured in such constant streams as to leave him no rest. He was obliged therefore to haste away from the place, accompanied by his associate Balabhadra and his new acquaintance Kristadasa. Falling on the road into one of his usual trances, he lay insensible under a tree with foam coming at his mouth. In this state he was found by some Patan horsemen who arrived there. Suspecting his companions to have poisoned him, they proceeded to lay violent hands upon them as Thugs and Dhutoryas. In the midst of their altercation, Chaitanya awoke and sat up. The Patans stood wondering, and were struck by his piety. They heard his story, and became edified. Seldom does a Mahomedan change his faith. But these Patans at once submitted to be *mantrad* on the spot. One of them was a Pir, who was henceforth called Ramdas. Their leader, a Rajkumar, or young prince, was named Bijili Khan. In Vaishnava history, they all became noted as Patan Vairagis.

From Vrindavana, Chaitanya came down to Prayaga. One Ballabha Bhatta, a Bengali, lived here in pleasant retirement by the side of the Jamna, which is endeared to a Vaishnavas by a thousand sacred associations. Chaitanya became his guest for a

few days, and then made his way back to Benares. The city of Siva was not a congenial element for him. There, the sapient Vedantist and Paramhansa, the conceited Dandi and Jangama, the meditative Yogi, were all cold-hearted, self-opinionated men, who cherished a lofty esteem of themselves, mingled with contempt of others, and were too stubborn for instruction. During his first visit, he had not been without an experience of their ridicule and scoffing. To avoid their wrangling crew, he lived in privacy with the few Vaishnavas residing there from Bengal. But he happened to become acquainted with a Mahratta Brahman, who grew very much attached to him. It was greatly the wish of this Brahman to bring him in contact once with the learned Pandits of Benares. After repeated proposals, Chaitanya complied with his request. The Brahman invited a large circle of the different sectarians at his house. It was honored by the presence of Prakasananda Swami, the first Vedantist of his day. He had indulged in many witticisms at the expense of our Vairagi on the previous occasion. Chaitanya arrived in due time, and modestly took his seat. His prepossessing appearance made the first favourable impression. Further, it was improved by the dignified humility of his conduct. Prakasananda opened the controversy. Chaitanya's old polemical humour revived. His language, his literature, his spontaneity, and his lucidity, all heightened the force of his arguments, at the same time that their effect was enhanced by the elegance of his manners and the suavity of his address. They left the result indisputably in his favor. Those who had before censured him as a spiritual empiric, now showered upon him their loudest encomiums. They worshipped him as a prodigy. Repenting of his former profane criticisms, Prakasananda now moved on a totally new tack. The stronghold of Sivaism was won, and echoed with Chaitanya's praises. Enjoying great popularity, he prolonged his stay to four months. During this interval, Sonatana, the converted ex-minister, arrived begging all the way from Gauda. Sending him on to Vrindavana, Chaitanya quietly left Benares one night, and taking to the old Jharkandi route, returned to Nilachala.

Our reformer was now thirty years of age. The six years from his entering on Vairagism to this period, were the most active years of his life. They were years passed in continuous pedestrian exertion as a foot-sore pilgrim, in encountering various religious teachers, in spreading his creed, and in working out the revolution set for him by destiny. His career was over. His part in the drama—the hero's part, was enacted. Leaving the



stage to his disciples, he now retired behind the scenes. Nothing is a more appropriate sequel to a life of action, than a life of contemplation.

"'Tis pleasant, through the loopholes of retreat,  
To peep at the far world, to see the stir  
Of the great Babel, and not feel the crowd."

No doubt, his physical and mental fatigues were great. But still it was at a too early age—an age at which Buddha, or Christ, or Mahomet, had not yet even entered upon their mission—that his desire of seclusion came on. Returning to his comrades from Hindustan, he settled for the remainder of his life at Nilachala. He chose this place, because he had promised his mother to reside near enough for her to get news of him from time to time. The house of one Kashishara Misra became his abode. His retreat had a pleasant sea-side situation, amidst Nature and simplicity, with only sand and shells around him. But before him lay

"The glorious mirror, where the Almighty's form  
Glasses itself in tempests; in all time,  
Calm or convulsed—in breeze, or gale, or storm,  
Icing the pole, or in the torrid clime  
Dark-heaving;—boundless, endless, and sublime—  
The image of eternity—the throne  
Of the Invisible."

Chaitanya passed a quiet retired life for eighteen long years at Nilachala. Each year his friends came to him during the Ratha-Jatra festival, and spent four months. Nityananda visited him at intervals of two or three years. Rupa and Sanatana came down from Vrindavana to report their progress. He was always mindful of his mother, to whom he dutifully sent a man with presents every year. His wife he had to ignore, the Shastras obliging him to take no notice of her; and Vishnupriya, a widow in all but the name, moves our mind by her fate very like that of a character in romance. Chaitanya's life at Nilachala was a Vairagi life to the letter. His daily food was got up at 4 *panas* of cowries, and it was shared again by his two attendants, Sarupa and Govinda. He lived upon one meal a day made of vegetables, and particularly liked *Lafra-ghanta*. In his youth he was fond of sweetmeats, but he now tasted them only when any of his friends affectionately brought them for him from Bengal. He slept on the earth spread with plantain barks and leaves. Once, some of his friends had got up for him a bed with cotton quilts and pillows, but he never slept upon it. On another occasion, Pandit Jagadananda had

brought for him from Nadiya a pot of medicated cooling oil, but he made it over to the temple of Jagannatha for burning. A man, given to picking holes, twitted him on his hearty meals—he reduced his allowance to two panas, and lived upon half meals, until the suicidal effects of abstinence were pointed out to him by his friends. Howbeit, he kept his health for a long time under his simple routine. But as his years increased, his vital powers declined. Enfeebled nature was oppressed by the strain of incessant and intense devotions. About his 47th year, his fits grew more frequent and violent. They brought on a state of imbecility verging upon insanity. One moonlight night, while enjoying with his friends at Tota, he silently stole away from them towards the sea, and walked into its waters. He would have been drowned, if he had not been brought to shore in a fisherman's net, and made over to his disciples. Chaitanya recovered from the shock of this incident, with an abatement of his deliriousness. He got well enough to remember sending Jagadananda to his mother for the annual enquiry of her health. But he rapidly "went down the hill." His body thinned away every day. Frequently his reason was eclipsed. He passed sleepless nights. Guardians were set over him in his incapacitated state to prevent him from going out. In a few days, he sank into a lethargic state, and an impotence of volition. He now spoke little. His last words were about certain *slokas* of his own composition touching his hopes of eternity. Shortly after this, he was missed without any body knowing his fate. It is supposed that he had drowned himself in the sea. His melancholy end took place in his 48th year, in Saka 1455, or 1533 A. D.\*

In person, Chaitanya was made after the nicest model. He had a tall, well-proportioned, noble figure, set off with a head full of black glossy hair that was his particular beauty. To speak in the language of Bishop Heber, he had neither "a copper" nor "a leper color," but a light yellow complexion which made him popularly called Gouranga. So engaging were his features, that people became affected towards him at the very first sight. Getting over the delicacy of his early infancy, he acquired a vigorous constitution in after life. From his great stamina, he was a fast walker who always went ahead—none of his companions being able to keep pace with him. To the majestic graces of his person, he united an affability and sociability of disposition which enabled him quickly to fraternise with all around him. He was a pleasur-

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\* Ward states he died at forty, and Dr. Wilson at forty-two. They are both inaccurate.

able companion, a fast friend, and enthusiastic leader, without any alloy in his nature. With all his erudite Panditism, he never lost the simplicity, the sportive humour, the light-heartedness and freshness of his early years. Chaitanya never used a coarse jest or sarcasm. In carrying on his discussions, he was never harsh in his language—he never put any body out of countenance. His triumphs did not make him conceited—he never talked big, or gave himself airs. He had no professional jealousy of any fellow-Pandit—bore ill will to none. Having an occasion to go over to the other side of the Ganges, he found himself in the same boat with another Pandit. In the course of conversation, his fellow-passenger enquired what the book was that he carried in his hand. Chaitanya replied it was a commentary on the Naya philosophy written by him. The Pandit looked sad, and, in answer to Chaitanya's query, said that he too had written a commentary on the same subject, but despaired of its success when Chaitanya was in the field. Without a moment's delay, Chaitanya out of his exceeding good-nature threw his papers into the river, and calmed his companion's mind. The poor found him heartily sympathising. Towards females, he was very modest and polite. His pupils were attached to him with the most affectionate regards for his loving conduct. Every thing in his person, manner, and conversation tended to maintain the charm which his genius had flung around him.

By his mental constitution, Chaitanya was a most remarkable being—one worthy of exceptional consideration. Had his brains been weighed, they would have been found to exceed sixty ounces—the quantity occurring in all great heads. But his mind must be pronounced to have been in some degree unsound—a defect which exhibited itself early, afflicted him from time to time, and at last sent him to a watery grave deprived of reason. In phrenological phraseology he had an unusually large bump of ideality, which, overpowering the balance of his mental and moral being, led him into those phantasies the intensity of which laid his other powers in abeyance, and at last crazed his brain. But his ideality was associated with a powerful understanding, or otherwise he would have been betrayed into a romantic visionary. To some extent he was a visionary, but a visionary of rare character whose imaginative mind was controlled by strong natural intelligence. These two opposite principles, both alike vigorous and actively restless, co-existed in two great compartments of his mind. But at times the wall of partition between them gave way, and the one trespassed upon the other's domain. Between ideality

and understanding his mind principally moved—the action of ideality being fitful and convulsive, but intense in its degree; the action of understanding, being constant, habitual, and regular. This second great quality bore him on through life, and made him all that he was—a moral hero. The next remarkable element in his composition was philoprogenitiveness, or that large-heartedness, sympathy, and benevolence, which warmed his heart with a grand purpose, and animated him to persevere in his generous career. In Chaitanya, were singularly blended the poetical and the practical—the enthusiast and the matter-of-fact man: a union which eminently fitted him to carry out his enterprise with success.

Regarded by his contemporaries as an enthusiast, worshipped by his followers as an incarnation, Chaitanya is now truly appreciated by an enlightened posterity as a Reformer. By this word, we signify not merely a religious teacher, the character commonly assigned to him. In our comprehensive sense, it includes also the statesman and the philanthropist, in which light no one has yet analyzed and interpreted his character. Chaitanya does not loom before our eyes in the importance of a political character, because purely political measures seldom fall within the scope and engage the interest of a people trained only in unqualified reverence for authority, and never in opposition to its dictates. The Hindu mind has not been inured to questions of politics, but of religion. There have arisen no patriots, but prophets. In looking back at our past annals, we find no movement ever made in theory or practice for social or political innovations. But the cause of religion has called forth a host of men from Buddha to Kesava Chandra Sen, such as no where else is seen. Prima-facie, they are all religionists; but deeply probing their lives, we touch the stratum of their political character to underlie beneath the surface of their religious character. Viewed from this standpoint, Chaitanya appears to have been an important social reformer with ideas far ahead of his contemporary generation. No such words as Conservative and Liberal exist in our vocabulary. But importing them in our language, the term Liberal may very properly be applied to Chaitanya, who in all that he contemplated and labored to effect, acted against Conservative authority. He was liberal to the core in his efforts to abolish caste, introduce widow marriage, and extinguish polygamy. Ramananda and Kabir had done little more than raised their voices against the exclusiveness of Hinduism. It was Chaitanya who should properly be considered to have pushed the anti-caste movement to issues of considerable success. He effec-

tively ventilated the opinion that there is no distinction between man and man in the Divine Eye, and that all men become pure by faith and devotion. Agreeably to this all castes composed his fraternity, and associated themselves on terms of equal fellowship. His two predecessors did not venture beyond taking low-caste Hindus for their disciples. But Chaitanya carried the principle of equality to admitting even Mahomedans into his fold. Dr. Wilson remarks that he acted from policy for the multiplication of proselytes. But Chaitanya never met with difficulty in the propagation of his faith. His exciting enthusiasm and impressive example smoothed his way. Not low and ignorant people only, but men of natural abilities and considerable learning—high Pandits, Vedantists, and Nayaiks became his followers. A great result may not have ensued. There may not have taken place a wide-spread abolition of the caste-system. The permanence of castes remains unaffected as ever. But we see a new class to have arisen and increased—a class of another origin, another nature, contending with the Brahmanical formation of society. The Vaishnava sect, including both the Vairagis and householders, numbers nearly one third of the Hindu population of Bengal, Orissa, and Assam.

It is not on record how far the evils of Kulin polygamy had manifested themselves in the age of Chaitanya. But upon the authority of tradition, it may be stated that in several instances his contemporary Kulins married a host of wives. The death of a single man jeopardized their happiness; and, if not *Sati-ism*, Cyprianism became their refuge from the miseries of a widow-life. Chaitanya must have had a sad experience of their degradation. His pitiful heart must have bled at the horrible sight of their immolation. Humanity roused him to stand forth in behalf of his countrywomen, and combat with the wrongs they suffered. If he did not introduce re-marriage with all the formal rites of matrimony, he succeeded to bring about a virtual state of wedlock by sanctioning the union of his followers with widowed females, and their living together as married couples. At any rate, it was a step in the right direction, tending towards a partial suppression of Sati rites and prevention of female lapses, and making an important fact in our history. Akbar is said to have prohibited the burning of Hindu widows against their will, and to have favoured their re-marriage. But the merit of originality in these measures certainly belongs to Chaitanya, who preceded him by half a century, and whose opinions had left an impress on the atmosphere of feeling and on the mind of his times. His

appreciation of the fair sex was next to chivalric. He fully recognised their great value in life, and took no objection to their association with men, and to the improvement of their minds. It is the learned Vaishnavis of his sect, who, by making their way into the Zenanas, sowed those first seeds of female education, which prepared the country for the foundation of the Bethune Female School. All these innovations in the interests of humanity were decidedly socio-political in their tendency. Unfortunately, in the absence of a legislature, or a public platform, they could not be directly brought forward on the tapis, but had to come in the wake of religion.

It is, however, as a religious teacher, that Chaitanya has left his greatest mark on history. But he did not figure as an original religionist. He denounced or demonstrated nothing. He did not elaborate a new programme of ethics urged no new theory, led not to fresh fields and new pastures. He avoided all subtle and superfluous speculations. He rejected all "poring through microscope of metaphysic lore." He was not born with a religious temperament. His mind was accidentally determined to a religious direction. It was purely an inspiration. Heaven at once enlarged and excited his soul. Discarding all rites and forms, and rising above the sinister spirit of ecclesiasticism, he adopted only the essence, pure and simple, of Vishnuism. The originator of Vishnu worship had laid its foundation upon the noblest and most refined principles of Buddhism. Chaitanya further "painted the lily, and gilded refined gold." He published the pith of that creed, by laying stress principally upon Bhakti, or love of God, as the pathway to salvation. Only, his method of propagation by morning minstrelsy from door to door and open-air Kirtan processions through the public streets, was original and novel, so much so that they have recommended themselves to men of other creeds for imitation. And his success was simply owing to his enforcing his precept by his example. He

Put so much of his heart into his act,  
That his example had a magnet's force,  
And all were swift to follow whom all lov'd.

The Task.

Chaitanya was eminently practical. He exhibited himself as a model adorned with conspicuous virtues, stirred by lofty impulses, and commanding a spontaneous admiration from all who looked on him. His wondrous powers of mind, his geniality of disposition, warmth of heart, largeness of sympathy, purity of morals, and

pleasantness of tongue, charmed away all prejudices. Instead of bigotry and rivalry, he brought human nature and philanthropy to bear upon his cause. No man was ever so perfectly exempt from vanity and hypocrisy. He must have liked popularity, but he scorned to gain it by unworthy means. He was ever laboriously intent upon the advancement of his movement, and was well aware how important it was for a man to be true, not merely to others, but to himself; how one lapse from duty might counterbalance the merits of a thousand services; how one moment of weakness might mar the beauty of a whole life of virtue. For this, he sacrificed home, interest, and every thing. He expunged the word Ego from his vocabulary, and "loving himself last, made all the ends he aimed at his country's, his God's, and truth's." With a voice of singular sweetness, he had an uncommon power of agitating the passions, and alike worked upon the proudest Pandit and the humblest villager. His character was his talisman.

Babu Jogendra Chandra Ghose points out a strong analogy "between the ethics of Chaitanya and the morality of Comte. The zero-point of Chaitanya's system—Dispassion, the highest aim of Yogis, Buddhists, Sivaites, and Vedantists—finds a profound parallel in Comte's system, where subordination of egoism is largely recommended in general and for the especial culture of altruistic virtues. The sentiment of kindness as typified in the feeling of the parent for the child has the same high place in both the systems. But in Comte's system attachment precedes veneration, and takes its type from the conjugal relationship of Europe, whereas Chaitanya, with a wise regard for the prevailing form of domestic life in India, recommends the culture of veneration as fit to precede that of attachment."\*

The Vedas inculcate a ritualistic creed. The Vedantist seeks God merely by an abstract contemplation of his attributes. The Buddhist has a nihilistic system. The religion of a Messiah or a Prophet—of atonement or mediation—is a religion of hopelessness, which, preaching that once a sinner, is always a sinner, reduces man to a poor dependant upon intervention with unavailing self-powers. The religion of prayer savours of selfishness. Nothing is like the religion of *Bhakti*, or the evolution of attachment to God by implicit faith and incessant devotion. It is winning the kingdom of eternity by the same thing by which the world is won—by loving submission. Chaitanya's whole religious and moral code is summarised in the

\* *Ethics of Chaitanya.*

word Bhakti, generated by constant and fervent calling to God—"হরেক্ষম হরেক্ষম হরেক্ষমৈব কেবলং। কলৌ নাভ্যোব নাভ্যোব নাভ্যোব গতিন্ন্যাখা।"\* The Bhakti is of five kinds: "in its simplest form it is mere *Santi*, or quietism, such as was practised by the Yogendras, or by sages, as Sanaka and his brethren: in a more active state it is *Dasya*, or servitude, which every votary takes upon himself; a higher condition is *Sakhyā*, or a personal regard or friendship for the deity, such as was felt by Arjuna. *Vatsalya*, which again is a higher station, is a tender affection for the divinity, of the same nature as the love of parents for their children; and the highest degree of Bhakti is *Madhurya*, or such passionate attachment as that which pervaded the feelings of the Gopis towards their beloved Krishna"† Chaitanya is said to have practised the highest of all Bhaktis. His sole idea being the reform of the condition of things among those with whom his lot was cast, he would have erred greatly if he had not been orthodox,—if he did not take his cue from the Bhagvat, and harp in unison with the spirit of the world around him. He therefore adored Krishna, but not otherwise than as his Paramatma, or the Supreme spirit. His Radha and Gopis, were the ideals of culminating Bhakti. His Vaikunta was the attainment of *Moksha*, or liberation. This constituted the substance of his creed—the rest is excrescence; the invention of his followers, from which the religions of all prophets suffer.

Chaitanya did not cloud his religion with mysticism. He published no mysterious cult. He affected not profundity, and aimed not to convince by reasoning. His filtrated transparent doctrine came home to the commonest understanding.\* But an extravagant veneration and indiscreet zeal often overload a religion with adulterations which do not stand the test of criticism. Chaitanya never "sat attentive to his own applause." He never forgot his mortality. Some body at Vrindavana happening to address him as Krishna himself, he instantly checked his blasphemy. He begged Rupa and Sopatana to treat him as a mortal, and not as a god. To Prakasanapda Swami he made the same request, and remarked that a mortal with divine pretensions was a hopeless reprobate. It is his followers only who regard him as an incarnation. This became the subject of public decision by Raja Krishna Chandra Raj, who held an assembly in which a hypnotized female clairvoyant settled the question by an ambiguous verdict open to

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\* The *Brihad Naradya Purana*.

† Dr. Wilson's *Religious Sects of the Hindus*.



*pro* and *con* interpretation. The stories of his Sarabhuja personification, and of his last vision of Krishna, Radha, and the Gopis sporting in the blue waters of the sea, should be utterly discarded as the invention of the extravagant veneration of his followers, which rather vitiates the purity of his life-account than throws a halo round his name—and has disgraced his religion with grafts of superstition tending to sensualism. They attribute to him a system of ethics which he never framed. He simply taught to call upon God, and made his exemplary life his creed.

The last point of view is the benefit done to the cause of literature. One remarkable feature in the history of Chaitanya's reformation, is his conversion not of ignorant fishermen or his loving wife or bounden slave, but of men of the highest culture and intelligence—of men of as great literature as his own, of Brahmancharis, Acharyas, ministers, and Rajas.\* He himself did not leave any specimen of his scholarship behind—most probably from a deliberate abstention from committal. But his immediate followers are most of them very distinguished writers in Sanscrit and Bengali. Rupa is the author of fourteen works in Sanscrit, comprising a drama called *Vidagdha Madhava*, several poems and hymns, and an abridgement of the *Sri Bhagavat*. Sonatana is the author of the *Hari Bhakti Vilas*, *Rasamrita Sindhu*, *Bhagavatamrita*, and *Siddhanta Sara*. Jiva Gosain wrote four works, and Raghunath Das two. In Bengali, the *Rāgamaya Kona* is the work of Rupa, the *Rasamaya Kalika* of Sonatana, the *Upasana Chandramrita* of Lal Dasa, the *Prem Bhakti Chandrika* of Thakur Gosain, the *Pashanda Dalana* of Radha-madhava, and the *Vaishnava Varddhana* of Daivaki Nandana. With these early works commences the national literature of Bengal, and it is in the hands of Chaitanya's learned disciples that the Bengali first attained to the dignity of a national language.

The Brahman has a tough antagonist in the Vairagi. They have no sympathy between themselves. Each is the jest and butt of the other. The genuine Vairagi is known by his shaven head with a tuft in the middle, his naked person hid by a few rags, his body covered with prints of Hari's name and feet in *gopichandana*, his numerous strings of beads, his rosary and ever twirling fingers, his smooth face, his soft manners, his urbane speech, and his upturned nose at the name of fish. Many such were those

\* A long list of names is given in the *Bhakti Chaitanya Chandrika*, a Brahmo compilation, which has helped us a great deal in our sketch.

who lived and moved with Chaitanya, and felt his personal influence. But no sooner the prophet, always the soul of his age, retires from the stage, than decadence ensues, and day by day a metamorphosis takes place by departure from his original opinions, and the introduction of new forms and impostures. The groundwork alone remains, but the legitimate consequences are diverted from their course.

Be it as it may, Chaitanya's merit is not the less because the fruition of his labours is not proportionate to his vast designs. It cannot be denied that the operation of his measures was highly beneficial to his nation, to whom they opened a prospect of progressive improvement. It may be contended that his project of converting his countrymen into one caste was too chimerical to be realised, because it was impossible for the new element to penetrate and assimilate so vast and heterogeneous a mass, as the population of India. But still it was a worthy effort. We must admire the greatness of mind by which he rose above the prejudices of the age, and made it the great object of his life to enlighten, civilise, and transform the people of his country. His philanthropy can never be a question, and we cannot but regard him to have been one of the greatest sons of the earth and benefactors of his kind, whom his countrymen enshrine in their memory as an Avatar.

AN IDLER.

### EXCHANGE—A ROBBERY.

I am a young married man and pride myself on the attention which I pay to my wife and, therefore, think that I do not exact too much in requiring a certain amount of deference to my wishes from the lady who has the honor of being my better half.

I knew that many admirers were disappointed when I induced the piquant and pretty girl to accept that position, so the period of our engagement was a time of triumph for me, as I felt that the congratulations which I received from my comrades were spiced with envy, which made them the more flattering if less sincere.

I was certainly very much in love. But that did not prevent my having an equally strong feeling that I must take care of its object.

Being fully aware of the value of the jewel committed to my care, I determined to fence it round with more than ordinary skill, so that it might never be stolen, nor even have its lustre too freely admired.

But for the admiration which, as a pretty young girl, my *fiancée* naturally excited, the six months preceding our marriage would, indeed, have been the happiest of my life. There was the constant social intercourse with my beloved and her family. The choosing of our suburban residence, and the details of its garnishing, which brought out new phases of Lucille's character, all then delighted me, even her opposition. Her combativeness amused me, for I insisted on viewing as play what she meant as serious.

Though completely under the spell of her youth and beauty, yet, as I had always heard woman designated as the weaker vessel, I never expected that my wife could answer any other description.

I regarded myself as a sort of knight of old, who, having won my love at point of lance, would guard her against all comers—intruders of thought, word and deed, which could ruffle my peace or that of my house and the treasure it contained. If there were not another woman in the world, Lucille could not have been more prized. To me she was unique. And I never doubted that I held the same place in her estimation that she did in mine. My love was, perhaps, exacting, but, no less would have satisfied me.

I flattered myself that we were a very happy and presentable couple, some whispered handsome, on our wedding day, as my tall form and dark complexion showed off Lucille, fair and *petite*.

I would not have changed, for the crown of an Earl, the pride of being loved by my fair-haired girl. Well, it is good to have been supremely happy once in a lifetime.

Not that my happiness has by any means become a thing of the past, though, my honeymoon is almost a year behind me, but it received a shock some four weeks ago, when I noticed that the plain gold circlet on my wife's pretty finger was guarded by another, ornamented with a diamond, which I had never placed there.

I instantly enquired about it, and Lucille's playful answer led me to understand that the ring was a mere bagatelle which she had picked up somewhere, and put on just to attract my attention to the fact that a real diamond would not look amiss in that position. 'I smiled a smile' at the hint, for diamonds were a long way from my calculations as I went to and from the place of my daily drudgery, which was now lightened by the certainty of finding a comfortable dinner and fire-side at each day's close, enhanced by the company of my charming little wife.

I only regretted that the distance to my cottage ornée was too great to permit of my returning there to luncheon as well as to dinner. But Lucille thought existing arrangements best, as she would have nothing to make conversation of if she saw me during the day, she said. Not that each day brought a remarkable, or even a fresh subject. Our circle of acquaintances lived the same sort of uneventful lives as ourselves, seldom disturbed by anything more startling than a probable wedding or christening, which, though events of great importance to the parties concerned, were scarcely of sufficient rarity to astonish the world.

## CHAPTER.

### II.

Having closed my office one foggy evening with a sigh of relief, I rushed away to join the crowd of weary looking bread-winners and fortune hunters who fill the suburban trains. Thinking myself late as I entered the station gates, I hastily pulled out my season ticket, to have it ready to show, and true to the proverb "more haste, worse speed," dropped it, and in picking it up, gathered a like object near which it had fallen. On hurriedly taking my seat I had time to examine my acquisition, which I found to be an empty portmonie, a dainty morocco, satin-lined affair, strangely reminding me of the one which I had given to my wife.

I opened it, and beheld Lucille's initials and address in my own handwriting. "Confirmation strong as Holy writ" of what horrible plot?

Imagination tortured me during my short journey, which seemed interminable. I could not beguile it by the perusal of the usual "Echo." Even the "Lady's Pictorial," which I regularly took home to my wife, lay neglected, for in my hand I held a purse, which, though void of money, was bursting its clasps with mystery.

Ah, I will flourish it in her false, fair face, I thought, and demand an explanation.

"But, is that the best way to get it?" whispered caution. "Will she not laughingly tell you some story as she did about the ring?" Two unsolved mysteries. Life was becoming quite dramatic. Lucille would no longer have occasion to call it 'humdrum.'

My wife met me in the entrance hall as usual that evening. For the first time, I scarcely cared to stoop to the caress of her white little arms, which, adorned with pretty bangles, peeped from fluffy frills, soft and innocent looking as doves.

I could not fling off their douce embrace, but pretended to find a difficulty with my silken comforter in order to shorten the greeting of my living one.

My angry excitement cooled somewhat during the half hour before dinner, and I met my wife at that meal determined to be calm, cool and cautious.

Lucille assisted with her usual grace, and chatted away with her usual freedom, informing me of the trifling news of her day.

"Mr. J could not have finally quarrelled with Miss C., as was popularly believed, as she, Lucille, had seen them walking together. Mrs. B had written to ask her to go into town next day, to a *matinée*, which she had half promised to do."

"How do you propose to go?" I asked.

"The way everyone else does, of course. Some-sugar, dear? These apples are unbearably tart."

"You must remember, Lucille, that I will not have you careering about town, alone, in omnibuses," I replied, almost as tart as the apples.

"I am not likely to forget what you tell me several times a week," answered Lucille with a pout.

We were verging on a dangerous subject. I felt my hand tremble as I stroked my moustach. However, I tried to reply in an indifferent tone. "You ought to be obliged to me for taking so much care of you, my dear."

"But, I must go out," pleaded 'my dear,' with that injured air which she managed to assume whenever this topic came up. Lucille knew that I had no wish to curtail her liberty in that respect, but I had determined that my young and pretty wife, when obliged to come to town without companionship, should take a handsom to her destination, even if the hire thereof entrenched on my cigars. I had put the matter before her on the score of 'her dignity as a married lady. But she looked on the rule as a command, rather than a request, and consequently resented it. Our arguments on the subject had never yet passed the bounds of playful repartee till now when Lucille remarked sharply that—

"I was like the tart, and wanted sweetening."

At that moment a flash from the mysterious ring caught my eye and made me think it peculiarly splendid for an imitation. All the evening the wretched thing continued to scintillate so obtrusively before me that, at length, I drew it from Lucille's finger, and tried its virtue with a drop of water, which 'pearled' all right. Then, whilst diverting my wife's attention to her music by praising it, I slipped the beautiful stranger into my pocket, determined to have an expert's opinion of its value on the morrow.

But, never was man made so miserable as I by the offer of £120 for the gem if I desired to sell! I wished instead that the gold were brass and the glitter from glass, for it now became my imperative duty to discover the source of my wife's riches. My anxiety on the subject interfered so much with my appetite for my dinner that, by the time dessert was reached, we were both ready for the risky excitement of our first quarrel.

I wore the ring, and, letting it flash obtrusively before my wife's eyes, soon drew from her an exclamation.

"Oh!" she cried, holding her breath and a bunch of grapes, both suspended by surprise.

"Oh, What?" I echoed coolly.

"Where did you get that ring Arthur?"

"I will explain if you will tell me where yours came from?" I answered steadily.

"I got mine in exchange," declared Lucille, after an instant's pause.

"You must have given a rare lot of things for it then, for I happen to know its value." Before I had finished speaking, my wife was at my side, examining my new ornament.

"Arthur," she cried, "it is the same. I have been looking for it all day. Oh, how could you, &c." with a great deal more, ending in tearful entreaties to give the ring up to her.

"Not until I have heard its history Lucille." And I added sternly, "how do you account for my having found this on a London street?" as I laid the little morocco purse on the table with a flourish.

After waste of many words and much persuasion, Lucille assuring me that she was not to blame in the matter of the ring, and could not account for her purse being where I had found it, I drew her low chair beside me, and gently placing her therein, said,—“My dear little wife, I am responsible for all that concerns you; and you owe me your confidence to enable me fully to carry out that responsibility. Now, tell me all about it, so far as you do know.” I ended, kindly taking her hand.

“But you will be so angry,” asserted Lucille timidly, and raising her tear-brimed eyes, which I longed to kiss.

Instead, I said coldly and firmly—

“I will not be more angry than I am now.”

After half a minute’s silence I continued,—“We are alone, Lucille, and can never have a better opportunity of understanding each other. Tell me, how did you get that ring?”

“As I have told you, in exchange,” re-affirmed my wife, with a slight smile, which I found provoking, as it nearly upset my gravity.

“Where?” I demanded.

“In an omnibus.”

“When?” I further enquired in amazement. “Diamond rings are not generally strewn about omnibuses.”

“Promise not to be very angry,” pleaded Lucille, as she took my hand between her little soft ones.

Feeling desperate, I promised.

“You have often told me not to go alone in omnibuses, so, I went,” calmly acknowledged Lucille.

(“How like a woman,” thought I)

“Imagined that it would not matter for once you know,” continued my wife. “But, when I wished to pay, I found my pocket had been picked. My purse was gone. Imagine my consternation!” suggested Lucille, in a tone of pity for herself which I was not in the mode to share. “A gentleman kindly offered me the fare. But I thought you would prefer that I should give Mrs. Bushe’s address. You see it all happened the day I went with her to the *matinée*. At her house I turned out my pocket, and out rolled this ring which must have slipped from the thief’s finger when he took my purse so cleverly. And that is how I got it, in exchange, as I said. His carelessness made me sure that

the stone could not be anything more precious than glass. As to my poor little purse, when he had emptied it, he threw it away in disgust, no doubt."

• "Why he?" I asked, much relieved by this simple, truthful narrative. "Because I distinctly remember a very good looking man"—"Oh, good-looking be—" I cried, impatiently interrupting Lucille, who looked up all smiles, eager to see my frown dispelled.

But I would not unbend till I had improved the occasion by pointing the moral of how necessary implicit confidence was between man and wife, especially if the latter did not intend to practice the perfect obedience which she had promised.

"You see what this might have led to, my dear Lucille. Less things have brought about separation," I was continuing, when my wife stopped my lips in her own sweet way, begging—"No more about the 'exchange' and you love me. You see it does sometimes reverse the old proverb and prove a robbery."

ASTER ALBUS.



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*"A GREAT MASTER OF THE ENGLISH TONGUE."*

THE WORLD KNOWS NOTHING OF ITS GREATEST MEN.—W. E. GLADSTONE.

The first requisite in a writer is a thorough knowledge of the grammar of the language in which he writes; the next is, that in writing he adheres to the rules laid down for one's guidance in writing; the third is a knowledge of rhetoric—the rhetoric of his tongue and the adherence to the laws prescribed therein.

Now suppose we were called upon to judge who, of a given number of authors, was the best, how should we address ourselves to the task? There are two ways by which, this could be done, namely, by (1) verbal and (2) literary criticism. The former relates to a writer's choice in the use and arrangement of words, and the structure of his sentences, while the latter refers to his thought, and taste, and expression, depending on the extent of his knowledge, the soundness of his judgment, the appositeness of his views, and the correctness of his taste with reference to his adherence to truth and nature in his descriptions and expositions. Granted that by the first art, we discover no material difference among say, Froude, Freeman, Newman and Matthew Arnold, it follows that, we should apply the rules of the second art. What do we find? that the differences hardly perceptible by the employment of the first, become evident in judging by the canons of the second art; and, as the result of our labours, we find Froude, elegant in structures, and eloquent in his delivery, but inaccurate

and unreliable in his delineations of character; Freeman, inelegant, but pure and simple in language, and scrupulously exact in delineation; Newman, elegant, refined, sublimely eloquent, and precise in tone, unique in urbanity, and the child of truth and nature; Arnold generally regardless of structures, exquisitely refined in taste, and a lover of truth.

Now of these literary and intellectual giants, I propose to speak of one, my spiritual and literary teacher—John Henry Cardinal Newman. He is, as some of my readers may know, the author of thirty seven volumes of critical, historical and theological works, written in the "most beautiful and magnificent prose." But the reader may wish to know what the special charm is in this prose. It is *urbanity*, and that great critic of our age the late, Matthew Arnold wrote of it as a literary quality *very rarely* found among English writers. "In England" he says in his *Essays in Criticism*, "there needs a miracle of genius like Shakspeare's to produce balance of mind, and a miracle of *intellectual delicacy* like Dr. Newman's to produce urbanity of style. How prevalent all round us is the *want* of balance of mind, and urbanity of style." But a critic no doubt, a good writer, but evidently wanting in balance of mind, in reply to a certain letter of mine in the *Indian Daily News* of two years ago, thus wrote: "that urbanity of style on which Matthew Arnold enlarges, is a *very poor* thing to be proud of. I am urbane even to Hindoos and Mahomedans!" Doubtless he was urbane and, specially to me, that, partly for my sake, and partly for the Editor's, he said, "I shall forego any further clinching of the moral." But this was not all, he showed me clemency, such as I scarcely deserved:—"I overlook he said for this time *only* his [my] personalities." Well, I suppose, I should be thankful to him for this gracious favour. But, however this may be, is urbanity after all so poor, albeit so rare a gift or quality? Let us see what Arnold really meant by the use of the word urbanity.

It is well known that in comparing some of Ruskin's works with those of Newman, Matthew Arnold calls the former's style provincial,—among English writers, great as Ruskin is. Then, alluding to this very quality, Sir Roper Lethbridge writes: "Newman's gentle earnestness, etc." Again, another writer, Professor Myvart says, "His works range through all the forms of literature, and touch upon innumerable questions. . . . Occasional in their origin, and often hurried in their composition, each of them has *still* upon it, the highly-wrought finish that is proper to a classic;" "and whether," says either Ward, Gladstone, or Kegan Paul (I do not remember which of them) "the movement of their periods be solely an

or swift, their melodious rhythm, graceful poise, wealth of details, and consummate ease of expression are such that a reader may well believe, he has something like the finest Greek prose before him." But says Gladstone, the personality of Newman was, in its *variety* of gifts and power of *fascination*. . . . He was a "most extraordinary man," a complex and subtle genius, a poet, preacher, historian, controversialist, theologian, and saint, and all these in an extraordinary measure.

From Lord Coleridge and Mr. John Morley, from Dean Church and Dean Stanley, from Frederick Harrison and Mr. R. H. Hutton, Mr. W. E. Henley and Augustine Birrell, and from Mr. Burnard and Aubrey de Vere, from Miss Christian Rossetti and James Macdonell, and Sir Francis Doyle and Lord Blachford, from Anthony Froude, Principal Shairp and the Duke of Argyle "comes one concordant voice in praise of John Henry Newman as author and as man." . . . . "These men represent light and leading, men with minds and pens beautiful and swift." Here is the sum and substance of what they have said and still say:—Newman's English for depth, colouring and transparency, for the brightness of its irony, its idiomatic strength, the tenderness of its pathos, the happy turns of its slightest phrase, and the bold yet classic rendering of *every* mood and feeling, remains to this day, simply unrivalled as the most perfect prose of *this* or any *century*:—so much is meant by that one word *urbanity*, but chiefly this that, in spite of Newman's *intense* earnestness, profound learning, and mastery of logic, his writings are characterised by their sweet and gentle persuasion, "their power of fascination." But it will be said that learning, such as Newman's, teaches gentleness, and persuasion, teaches us to overcome by reason and not by force or abuse. But this is just what an Englishman is wanting in; impatience or strong language or both increase with the increase of his wisdom. Even great authors are guilty of expressions such as this is: "To do this (to strengthen our frontier) is the work of wisdom, but to talk against it is the work of a *fool*." Take also this from the *Saturday Review*,\* "who in replying to some foreign criticism on our precautions against invasion, falls into a strain of this kind":—"To do this (to take these precautions) seems to us eminently worthy of a great nation, and to talk of it as unworthy of a great nation, seems to us eminently worthy of a *great fool*." Indians should be careful to avoid what Matthew Arnold calls the note of provincality, and what the French call the brutality of the English journals.

\* See Matthew Arnold's *Essays in Criticism*.

"And the same note may not unfrequently be observed even in the *ideas* of the newspapers, full as they are of thought and cleverness: certain ideas allowed to become fixed ideas, to prevail too absolutely." As for instance, continually attacking every government measure, or certain races, or certain officials, or Boards and Municipalities: "not to hold ideas of this kind a little more easily, to be devoured by them, to suffer them to become crotchets."

I shall now proceed to point out some of Newman's works which Indians might with advantage peruse, since, in many of the others, there are difficulties specially so, to natives of this country. For light reading I would recommend his *Callista*. "Many of his books," says Hutton, "express with greater power his intellectual delicacy of insight, and his moral intensity, but none, unless it be *The Dream of Gerontius*, expresses as this does, the depth of his spiritual passion, the singular wholeness, unity, and steady concentration of purpose connecting all his thoughts, words, and deeds." The next, his *Lectures on Catholicism in England*. The name is likely to deter one from reading the work; but, as a lady, to whom I had recommended the book, remarked to me the other day:—"It is quite different from what I took it to be; it is very interesting." It is what I would call a philosophical delineation of prejudice as evinced by Protestants towards the Roman Catholics in England. It is pre-eminently the book which will teach the student of English how to cut without slashing, without abusing, without violence or even harshness. Gentle words are employed, but the weapon is truth, and truth says Newman, is the greatest satire; and so the reader will find it, as he begins to understand the great author. These Lectures effectively illustrate "the Protestant Tradition," as obtained in England; about the middle of this century. What has since changed that atmosphere of hatred towards Catholicism? "Fling upon the gale said Newman about forty years ago the faintest whisper of Catholicism, and the Established Church, as by instinct recognizes its co-natural foe;" such was the "nonsensical and fanatical side of Protestantism" then, what is it now? Toleration and more than toleration, the actual adoption of the Religion once hated and despised—and hated since the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. This change is due to these Lectures, and to those before it entitled *Anglican Difficulties*, which I would also recommend to my readers, as, being quite familiar with the subject treated in this work, there is evidence of great depth and grasp of mind, in fact, Newman here had "the fullest scope to his powers of orderly

and beautiful exposition" and it opened a far greater range to his "singular genius for *gentle and delicate irony* than anything which he had previously written."\* I come now to his *Idea of a University*, which is "full of graceful and instructive thought, and indeed writes Hutton, gave an impulse to the comprehension of true University culture, which had, a very great effect in stimulating the reforms which soon afterwards took place in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. . . . Those *Discourses* enforced with the *utmost* power the true purpose of liberal education, that it is a pursuit of knowledge for the sake of knowledge, and not for the value of any of the fruits or applications of knowledge, however important. . . . His general position throughout is, that Theology is essential to true University study, because it is a *branch of true knowledge*, and is the *most real* and the *most important* of all the branches of true knowledge, since it *harmonises* and *connects* all the other studies and sciences, and gives them their *due* subordination in relation to the *purpose of life*. Then there is Newman's *Apologia pro vita sua*, the most beautiful autobiography in the English language, and one, which will ever be read, with the deepest interest by those who love truth and sincerity. The *Essays on Miracles* is also a very readable book; but the position taken up by Newman in his work of 1878, seems to me unique. In my own way, I will try to explain what I have there gathered. Mind by a subtle influence, operates on matter and, in a mysterious way, makes it subservient to its wishes. The mind operates on an instrument which is made to operate on some force, and this force in its turn transmits its energy to something else. Take for example the writing on this manuscript; the mind operates on the brain, the brain on the nerves and muscles, and then on the pen which I am using, and the pen on the paper. So too in telegraphy, the mind acts on a certain instrument, which acts on the force called electricity, and by a medium or vehicle, its energy or the wishes of the mind or operator, are transmitted a hundred or a thousand or ten thousand miles. The operators at either end of the wire or cable are not seen and, as is invariably the case, not known to each other, and scarcely seem to realize how the message came; but each knows that the message has come and was sent by a being possessed of a *mind*. Why then, is it difficult or impossible for God to act in this or any similar way as seems best to Him, the Sovereign Lord of heaven and earth? Are not

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\* His Lectures on Catholicism in England were afterwards written.

all the forces, create or uncreate known or unknown absolutely His? May He not deal with them as we deal with steam and water and air and electricity? Why cannot He touch the cloud overhead, so as to cause it to discharge its electricity on me or mine? Why cannot He touch the springs of my heart, or the current of my thoughts that I may become His instrument in saving a starving, a drowning or a dying man?—Do all these things, and yet be hidden from our impure gaze. We receive the messages good, bad, or indifferent, thousands and millions act by them, but does one in a million see or know him who sent the message? All that we know is that there is a mind operating on our behalf, or perhaps we even do not think of this, we only think of the subject-matter of the message. God is ever acting for and by us—who ever thinks that He is? He is in our midst, but who knows Him? who has ever seen Him? but He is not the less our God and Father, Almighty and Everlasting.

But say the objectors it took us thousands of years to arrive at the knowledge and the uses of steam and electricity. Does it follow therefore that, He who holds all the forces of nature in the hollow of His Hand, indeed, who is the creator of all things, that He is, or ever was ignorant of their uses? Or did He make a compact with any one not to effect His Purposes by touching the springs of His handiwork? Or did He create the universe and then left it all to look after itself, Himself retiring from the scene of His all but infinite labours? But the laws of nature are unchangeable. Even so, does it follow therefore that God cannot change or order them according to His wishes? Granted however, that He, even He, does not change them can it with reason be said that it is necessary for Him to do so? for, there are many uses to which we put air and water, steam and electricity without changing their essential and constituent properties; and what is possible to us, must be infinitely possible to Him with whom all things are as clay.

I come now to that remarkable work from which that Englishman Darwin first, and others afterwards, borrowed the idea of Development, I mean Newman's *Development of Christian Doctrine*. It is divided into two parts. The first part deals with Developments viewed in themselves, and is arranged under four heads, viz., (1) the development of ideas, (2) the antecedent argument in behalf of developments; (3) the historical argument in behalf of the existing developments; (4) instances in illustration. The second part treats on Developments viewed relatively to corruptions, and is divided into eight Chapters. The first of these, deals with Genuine Developments, as contrasted with corruptions, and is

arranged under seven "Notes," as Newman, in his own original and expressive way, calls them. They are the following:—(1) Preservation of Type; (2) Continuity of Principles; (3) Power of Assimilation; (4) its Logical Sequence; (5) the Anticipation of its Future; (6) Conservative action upon its Past; and (7) Its chronic Vigour. The remaining chapters are employed in the illustration of each of these remarkable "notes," which are now the common property of every writer on *evolution*, whether of matter or organism, worlds or animals. But, how few of them, and how few of those who read their productions, know the man from whom the profound idea of "Development," and its Tests originated! I remember some people asking me: "Was Newman the writer who introduced the word *development* into the English language? at least, this is what we have gathered from the articles about him." Who will after this dispute Mr. Gladstone's remark that the world does not know its greatest men?

"When we consider" writes Hutton, "that the *Essay on Development* was written in 1844 and 1845, many years before the scientific conception of biological evolution had been explained and illustrated by Darwin and Wallace, and a host of other writers, it appears to me that this essay, with its many admirable illustrations from biology, demonstrates that Newman's genius is not simply, as has been often asserted, a special gift for the vindication of authority in religion, and for the revivification of the past, since it betrays so deep an insight into the *generating* thoughts which are *transforming* the present and *moulding* the future. His discussion of the true tests of genuine development is marked by the *keenest* penetration into one of the *most characteristic* conceptions of modern science." "All these tests of true, as distinguished from corrupt or deteriorating development, are discussed by Newman with *admirable subtlety*, and a *very fine* sense for the scientific character of the conception of *evolution itself*, . . . . . which, in the year 1845, was certainly *very remarkable*." And it was this very remarkable investigation which led Newman captive into the Roman Catholic Church; but before he was thus led he wrote a postscript to his Essay, "which will be remembered as long as the English language endures . . . . . Its absolute simplicity and appropriateness to the close of such an argument like this, is *most impressive*." "Such he wrote, were the thoughts concerning 'the Blessed Vision of Peace' of one whose long continued petition had been that the most Merciful would not despise the work of His own Hands, nor leave him to himself, while yet his eyes were dim,



and his breast laden, and he could but employ Reason in the things of Faith. And now dear reader, time is short, eternity is long. Put not from you what you have here found ; regard it not as mere matter of present controversy ; set not out resolved to refute it, and looking about for the best way of doing so ; seduce not yourself with the imagination that it comes of disappointment, or disgust, or restlessness, or wounded feeling, or undue sensibility, or other weakness. Wrap not yourself round in the associations of years past, nor determine *that* to be truth which you wish to be so, nor make an idol of cherished anticipations. Time is short, eternity is long." [See *Cardinal Newman* by R. H. Hutton, and *John Henry Newman* by Wilfrid Meynell, also the last page of *Development of Christian Doctrine*.]

To another work I shall now take the reader—Newman's *Grammar*, or rather the basis or philosophy of *Assent*. This masterly and elaborate Essay was written by the great Cardinal on his sixty ninth year, and was published in 1870, to the extreme wonderment of Englishmen generally to whom Newman was forgotten or, who had shelved him, as we shelve the old and useless. It is in two parts : the first treats on Assent and Apprehension, and is divided into five chapters ; the second, deals with Assent and Inference under five aspects, namely, Assent as unconditional, Certitude, Inference, the Illative sense, and Inference and Assent in the matter of Religion. Consider the *truth* and *beauty* of the following extract from Part I. page 105 :

### CONSCIENCE AND BELIEF IN GOD.

I assume that conscience has a legitimate place among our mental acts, as really so, as the action of memory of reasoning, of imagination, or as the sense of the beautiful ; that, as there are objects which, when presented to the mind, cause it to feel grief, regret, joy, or desire, so there are things which excite in us approbation or blame, and which we in consequence call right or wrong ; and which experienced in ourselves, kindle in us that specific sum of pleasure or pain, which goes by the name of a good or bad conscience. This being taken for granted, I shall attempt to show that in this special feeling, which follows on the commission of what we call right or wrong, lie the materials for the real apprehension of a Divine Sovereign and Judge.

The feeling of conscience (being I repeat, a certain keen sensibility, pleasant or painful,—self-approval and hope, or compunction and fear,—attendant on certain of our actions, which in consequence we call right or wrong) is twofold :—it is a moral sense, and a sense of duty ; a judgment of the reason and a magisterial dictate. Of course its act is indivisible ; still it has these two aspects, distinct from each other, and admitting of a

separate consideration. Though I lost my sense of the obligation which I lie under to abstain from acts of dishonesty, I should not in consequence lose my sense that such actions were an outrage offered to my moral nature. Again, though I lost my sense of their moral deformity, I should therefore lose my sense that they were forbidden to me. Thus conscience has both a critical and a judicious office, and though its promptings, in the breasts of the millions of human beings to whom it is given are not in all cases correct, that does not necessarily interfere with the force of its testimony and of its sanction: its testimony that there is a right and a wrong, and its sanction to that testimony conveyed in the feelings which attend on right or wrong conduct. . . . . [But] let us consider conscience, not as a rule of right conduct, but as a sanction of right conduct. . . . Conscience is ever forcing on us by threats and by promises that we must follow the right and avoid the wrong; so far it is one and the same in the mind of every one, whatever be its particular errors in particular minds as to the acts which it orders to be done or to be avoided; and in this respect it corresponds to our perception of the beautiful and deformed. As we have naturally a sense of the beautiful and graceful in nature and art, though tastes proverbially differ, so we have a sense of duty and obligation, whether we all associate with the same certain actions in particular or not. Here, however, Taste and Conscience part company: for the sense of beautifulness, as indeed the moral sense, has no special relations to persons, but contemplates objects in themselves. Conscience on the other hand, is concerned with persons primarily, and with actions mainly as viewed in their doers, or rather with self-alone and one's own actions, and with others only indirectly and as if in association with self.

And further, taste is its own evidence, appealing to nothing beyond its own sense of the beautiful or the ugly, and enjoying the specimens of the beautiful simply for their own sake; but conscience does not repose on itself, but vaguely reaches forward to something beyond self, and dimly discerns a sanction higher than self for its decisions, as is evidenced in that keen sense of obligation and responsibility which informs them. And hence it is that we are accustomed to speak of conscience as a voice,—a term which we should never think of applying to the sense of the beautiful; and moreover a voice, or the echo of a voice, imperative and constraining, like no other dictate in the whole of our experience.

And again, in consequence of this prerogative of dictating and commanding, which is of its essence, conscience has an intimate bearing on our affections and emotions, leading us to reverence and awe, hope and fear, especially fear, a feeling which is foreign for the most part, not only to taste, but even to the moral sense, except in consequence of accidental associations. No fear is felt by any one who recognises that his conduct has not been beautiful, though he may be mortified at himself, if perhaps he has thereby forfeited some advantage; but, if he has been betrayed into any kind of immorality, he has a lively sense of responsibility and

guilt, though the act be no offence against society, of distress and apprehension, even though it may be of present service to him, of compunction and regret, though in itself it be most pleasurable,—of confusion of face, though it may have no witnesses. These various perturbations of mind, which are characteristic of a bad conscience, and may be very considerable,—self-reproach, poignant shame, haunting remorse, chill dismay at the prospect of the future,—and their contraries, when the conscience is good, as real though less forcible, self-approval, inward peace, lightness of heart, and the like,—these emotions constitute a specific difference between conscience and our other intellectual senses,—common sense, good sense, sense of expedience, taste, sense of honour, and the like,—as indeed they would also constitute between conscience and the moral sense, supposing these two were not aspects of one and the same feeling exercised upon one and the same subject-matter.

So much for the characteristic phenomena, which conscience presents, nor is it difficult to determine what they imply, I refer once more to our sense of the beautiful. This sense is attended by an intellectual enjoyment, and is free from whatever is of the nature of emotion, except in one case, viz., when it is excited by personal objects; then it is that the tranquil feeling of admiration is exchanged for the excitement of affection and passion. Conscience too considered as a moral sense, an intellectual sentiment, is a sense of admiration and disgust, of approbation and blame: but it is something more than a moral sense; it is always, what the sense of the beautiful is only in certain cases; it is always emotional. No wonder then that it always implies what that sense only sometimes implies; that it always involves the recognition of a living object, towards which it is directed. Inanimate things cannot stir our affections; these are correlative with persons. If, as is the case, we feel responsible, are ashamed, are frightened, at transgressing the voice of conscience, this implies that there is one to whom we are responsible, before whom we are ashamed, whose claims upon us we fear. If, on doing wrong, we feel the same tearful, broken-hearted sorrow which overwhelms us on hurting a mother; If, on doing right, we enjoy the same sunny serenity of mind, the same soothing, satisfactory delight which follows on our receiving praise from a father, we certainly have within us the image of some person, to whom our love and veneration look, in whose smile we find our happiness, for whom we yearn, towards whom we direct our pleadings in whose anger we are troubled and waste away. These feelings in us are such as require for their exciting cause an intelligent being: we are not affectionate towards a stone, nor do we feel shame before a horse or a dog; we have no remorse or compunction on breaking mere human law; yet, so it is, conscience excites all these painful emotions, confusion, foreboding, self-condemnation; and on the other hand it sheds upon us a deep peace, a sense of security, a resignation and a hope, which there is no sensible, no earthly object can elicit. "The wicked flees, when no one pursueth;" then, why does he flee? Whence his terror? Who is it that he sees in

solitude, in darkness, in the hidden chambers of his heart? If the cause of those emotions does not belong to this visible world, the Object to which his perception is directed must be Supernatural and Divine; and thus the phenomena of conscience, as a *dictate*, avail to impress the imagination with the picture of a Supreme Governor, Judge, holy, just, powerful, all-seeing, retributive, and is the creative principle of ethics.

And let me here again refer to the fact, to which I have already drawn attention, that this instinct of the mind recognizing an external master in the dictate of conscience, and imaging the thought of Him in the definite impressions which conscience creates, is parallel to that other law of, not only human, but of brute nature, by which the presence of unseen individual beings is discerned under the shifting shapes and colours of the visible world. Is it by sense, or by reason, that brutes understand the real unities, material and spiritual, which are signified by the lights and shadows, the brilliant ever-changing calidoscope, as it may be called, which plays upon their *retina*. Not by reason, for they have not reason; not by sense, because they are transcending sense; therefore it is an *instinct*. This faculty on the part of brutes, unless we were used to it, would strike us as a great mystery. It is one peculiarity of animal natures to be susceptible of phenomena through the channels of sense, it is another to have in those sensible phenomena a perception of the individuals to which this or that group of them belongs. This perception of individual things, amid the maze of shapes and colours which meets their sight, is given to brutes in large measures, and that, apparently from the moment of their birth. It is by no mere physical instinct, such as that which leads him to his mother for milk, that the new-dropped lamb recognizes each of his fellow lambkins as a whole, consisting of many parts bound up in one, and, before he is an hour old, makes experience of his and their rival individualities. And much more distinctly do the horse and dog recognize even the personality of their master. How are we to explain this apprehension of things, which are one and individual, in the midst of a world of pluralities and transmutations, whether in the instance of brutes or again of children?

But until we account for the knowledge which an infant has of his mother or his nurse, what reason have we to take exception at the doctrine, as strange and difficult, that in the dictate of conscience, without previous experiences or analogical reasoning, he is able gradually to perceive the voice, or the echoes of the voice, of a master, living personal, and sovereign? . . . . . The child keenly understands that there is a difference between right and wrong; and when he has done what he believes to be wrong, he is conscious that he is offending One to whom he is amenable, whom he does not see, who sees him. His mind reaches forward with a strong presentiment to the thought of a moral Governor, sovereign over him, mindful and just. It is my wish to take an ordinary child, but still one who is safe from influences destructive of his religious instincts. Supposing he has offended

his parents, he will all alone and without effort, as if it were the most natural of acts, place himself in the presence of God, and beg of Him to set him right with them. Let us consider how much is contained in this simple act. First, it involves the impression on his mind of an unseen Being with whom he is in immediate relation, and that relation so familiar that he can address Him whenever he himself chooses; next, of one whose good-will towards him he is assured of, and can take for granted—nay, who loves him better, and is nearer to him, than his parents; further, of one who can hear him, wherever he happens to be, and who can read his thoughts, for his prayer need not be vocal; lastly, of One who can effect a critical change in the state of feeling of others towards him. That is we shall not be wrong in holding that this child has in his mind the image of an invisible Being, who exercises a particular providence among us, who is present everywhere, who is heart-reading, heart-changing, ever-accessible, open to impetration. What a strong and intimate vision of God must he have already attained, if, as I have supposed, an ordinary trouble of mind has the spontaneous effect of leading him for consolation and aid to an Invisible Personal Power!

Moreover, this image brought before his mental vision is the image of One who by implicit threat and promise commands certain things which, the same child coincidentally, by the same act of his mind, approves; which receive the adhesion of his moral sense and judgment, as right and good. It is the image of One who is good, inasmuch as enjoining and enforcing what is right and good, and who, in consequence, not only excites in the child hope and fear,—nay (it may be added), gratitude towards Him, as giving a law and maintaining it by reward and punishment,—but kindles in him love towards Him, as giving him a good law, and therefore as being good Himself, for it is the property of goodness to kindle love, or rather the very object of love is goodness; and all those distinct elements of the moral law, which the typical child, whom I am supposing, more or less consciously loves and approves,—truth, purity, justice, kindness, and the like,—are but shapes and aspects of goodness. And having in his degree a sensibility towards them all, for the sake of them all, he is moved to love the Lawgiver, who enjoins them upon him. And, as he can contemplate these qualities and their manifestations under the common name of goodness, he is prepared to think of them as indivisible, correlative, supplementary of each other in one and the same Personality, so that there is no aspect of goodness which God is not; and that the more, because the notion of a perfection embracing all possible excellences, both moral and intellectual, is especially congenial to the mind, and those are in fact intellectual attributes, as well as moral, included in the child's image of God, as above represented.

Such is the apprehension which even a child may have of his Sovereign Lawgiver and judge; which is possible in the case of children, because, at least, some children possess it, whether others possess it or no; and which, when it is found in children, is found to act promptly and

keenly, by reason of the paucity of their ideas. It is an image of the good God, good in Himself, good relatively to the child, with whatever incompleteness; an image, before it has been reflected on, and before it is recognized by him as a notion. Though he cannot explain or define the word "God," when told to use it, his acts show that to him it is far more than a word. He listens indeed, with wonder and interest to fables or tales; he has a dim, shadowy sense of what he hears about persons and matters of this world; but he has that within him which actually vibrates, responds, and gives a deep meaning to the lessons of his first teachers about the will and the providence of God.

How far this initial religious knowledge comes from without, and how far from within, how much is natural, how much implies a special aid which is above nature, we have no means of determining, nor is it necessary for my present purpose to determine. I am not engaged in tracing the image of God in the mind of a child or a man to its first origins, but showing that he can become possessed of such an image, over and above all mere notions of God, and in what that image consists. Whether its elements, latent in the mind, would ever be elicited without extrinsic help is, very doubtful; but whatever be the actual history of the first formation of the divine image within us, so far at least is certain, that, by informations external to ourselves, as time goes on, it admits of being strengthened and improved. It is certain too that, whether it grows brighter and stronger, or on the other hand, is dimmed, distorted, or obliterated, depends on each of us individually, and on his circumstances.

It is more than probable that, in the event from neglect, from the temptations of life, from bad companions, or from the urgency of secular occupations, the light of the soul will fade away and die out. Men transgress their sense of duty, and gradually lose those sentiments of shame and fear, the natural supplements of transgression, which, as I have said, are the witnesses of the Unseen Judge. And even were it deemed impossible that those who had in their first youth a genuine apprehension of Him, could ever utterly lose it, yet that apprehension may become almost undistinguishable from an inferential acceptance of the great truth, or may dwindle into a mere notion of their intellect. On the contrary, the image of God, if duly cherished, may expand, deepen, and be completed, with the growth of their powers and in the course of life, under the varied lessons, within and without them, which are brought home to them concerning that same God, One and Personal, by means of education, social intercourse, experience, and literature. To a mind thus carefully formed upon the basis of its natural conscience, the world, both of nature and of man, does but give back a reflection of those truths about the One Living God, which have been familiar to it from childhood. Good and evil meet us daily as we pass through life, and there are those who think it philosophical to act towards the manifestations of each with some sort of impartiality, as if evil had as much right to be there as good, or even a better, as having more striking triumphs and a broader jurisdiction.

And because the course of things is determined by *fixed* laws, they consider that those laws preclude the present agency of the Creator in the carrying out of particular issues. It is otherwise with the theology of a religious imagination. It has a living hold on truths which are really to be found in the world, though they are not upon the surface. It is able to pronounce by anticipation, what it takes a long argument to prove—that good is the rule, and evil the exception. It is able to assume that, uniform as are the laws of nature, they are consistent with a particular Providence. It interprets what it sees around it by this previous inward teaching, as the true key of that maze of vast complicated disorder; and thus it gains a more and more consistent and luminous vision of God from the most unpromising materials. Thus conscience is a connecting principle between the creature and his Creator; and the firmest hold of theological truths is gained by habits of personal religion. When men begin all their works with the thought of God, acting for His sake, and to fulfil His will, when they ask His blessing on themselves and their life, pray to Him for the objects they desire, and see Him in the event, whether it be according to their prayers or not, they will find every thing that happens tend to confirm them in the truths about Him which live in their imagination, varied and unearthly as those truths may be. Then they are brought into His presence as that of a Living person, and are able to hold converse with Him, and that with a directness and simplicity, with a confidence and intimacy, which we use towards our earthly superior; so that it is doubtful whether we realize the company of our fellow-men with greater keenness than these favoured minds are able to contemplate and adore the unseen, in comprehensible Creator."

Newman's literary genius has been so great and has manifested itself in a style of such grace and delicate pathos, in satire so keen, searching, vivacious, yet tender, most rare, in fact unique, that the highest place in the literature of his country was easily within his reach, long before the world proclaimed him the Laureate of English prose. "But power of this kind is precisely what he never coveted. . . . . What is perfectly clear to any one who can appreciate Cardinal Newman at all is, that from the beginning to the end of his long career he was penetrated by a fervent love of God, a fervent love for the Christian revelation, and a steadfast resolve to devote the whole force of a singularly powerful and even intense character to the endeavour to promote the conversion of his fellow-countrymen, from their tepid and unreal profession of Christianity to a new and profound faith in it. . . . . Whether tried then by the test of the nobility, intensity and steadfastness of his work, or by the test of the greatness of the powers which have been consecrated to that work, it would be hard to fix on any man now living who could rival Cardinal Newman."

In concluding this attempt to introduce into Bengal the works of one of the greatest men that this world has seen, the father of the most profound, recondite and fruitful ideas of this century, the author of classical

English prose and poetry, and the pattern of a holy Christian life, I may be allowed to say, that, I once had doubts in the universality of conscience, but, much as I doubted it, do I believe in it now, and for good reasons too. I had always thought that the uneducated and ignorant masses possessed no conscience, and that this small still voice was the child of education. No such thing! I have questioned the most ignorant and the poorest products of nature, and the lowest caste peoples of India, and have always found that they have this sense of Right and Wrong, with differences only in regard to particulars caused by habits and customs peculiar to the race or tribe. .

C. J. WHINCOP-SMITH.



## A SCEPTIC'S VIEW OF INDIAN RAILWAYS:

The extension of railways is considered one of the greatest blessings which British rule has conferred on India. Forty years ago there was not a single mile of rail road in India; now there are over sixteen thousand miles of it penetrating and girdling the country. The beneficial effects of railways have been well shewn by Lord Ripon in an article published in the *Paternoster Review* for October 1890. "It is needless to point out how improved communications and increased facilities for travel break down obstinate and long established prejudices, and widen men's minds in a single generation. . . . The introduction of railway travelling has had a direct and necessary influence in weakening and in certain respects over-coming the distinctions and prejudices of caste."

Every word of this statement is perfectly true. By facilitating intercourse railways have certainly helped our social progress to some extent. They have also been of great use in transporting food to those parts of the country which are affected by famines. But if we look beneath the surface we find, that some of the benefits which are alleged to have accrued from railways are of a questionable character; and that they are also accompanied by a few positive evils. In the first place, railways have by facilitating the transport of European manufactures helped to destroy indigenous industries. The artisans whom these industries afforded occupation have been yearly swelling the number of needy peasants and labourers. Mr. James Cotton writes in his treatise on India in the English citizen series: "With the weavers have gone the numerous caste of dyers. In the same way many other handicrafts have suffered either from the abolition of Native Courts or from English rivalry. Carpet making, fine embroidery, jewellery, metal work, damascening of arms, saddlery, carving, paper-making, even architecture and sculpture have all alike decayed." No doubt a portion of the artisan class finds employment in the railway workshops as smiths and carpenters; and many more find work as labourers in the mines, factories and tea estates which railways

have helped to develop. Their number is estimated at one million and a quarter. This is no doubt a set-off against the heavy loss which the industrial people have suffered owing to the extension of railways. But the testimony of District officers is almost unanimous in showing that the greater majority of them are driven to agriculture. Large towns with urban populations have dwindled into inconsiderable villages. It has been estimated that no less than ninety per cent of the population of India lives upon agriculture. The increase of agricultural at the sacrifice of artisan population is certainly not advantageous for India. It is true the mass of her people must from time immemorial have been mainly agricultural. But there can be no doubt that a great portion of her wealth depended upon her mining and manufacturing industries, as indeed the wealth of every country must do. No country that is purely agricultural can ever be rich. Down to the early years of the present century, India did not export her food grains, but cotton, silk and various other manufactures. It was to participate in the trade of these that the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English came to India. About the end of the last century (1798—99) the value of piece goods and Organzins silk exported from India to England amounted to over a million and a half pounds sterling. No cotton goods were then imported into India; iron and steel to the value of only £36,530 pounds were imported. Now the relations have entirely changed. She sends abroad her spare food, and imports foreign manufactures. Her people are dependant upon Europe for all necessities of life except food, not to speak of luxuries. The clothes they wear come from Manchester; the ploughs with which they till their land, the axes with which they cut their trees, are made of English iron; knives, scissors, cooking utensils, matches, in fact nearly all their household requisites are of English manufacture. Even the trinkets which adorn them or their houses come from Europe. In 1885, India imported nearly 24 millions of pounds worth of cotton manufactures, twist and yarn, nearly 2 millions worth of raw and manufactured silk, four millions worth of raw and manufactured iron, &c. The almost wholesale ruin of indigenous manufactures has directly and indirectly helped to produce a most serious state of congestion throughout British India.

The serious problem now is how long will land be able to bear the daily increasing strain upon it. Government has been trying by the establishment of model Farms and other measures to teach the peasants how to make the land yield more than it does now. For all cultivable land will soon be brought under cultiva-

tion; and unless its food-growing capacity increases, the people gradually becoming more and more entirely dependent upon it, will have to starve. But the prospect of agricultural improvement is very gloomy.

The present state of things in India is indeed very sad. No doubt railways are not solely responsible for it. Hand-made things such as those which the Indians used to make could not have long competed against machine-made articles. They might however, have gradually adapted to the new order of things themselves. But cheap means of communication, amongst which railways are most prominent, did not give them the time. The Englishmen are now about the only people in the world who strictly follow the principles of free trade, India (including Burma) is now the only extensive mart where English manufactures are admitted free of duty. The absence of a tariff combined with the extension of railways has helped to kill the indigenous industries, and has considerably handicapped the people in their endeavours to revive them.

*Secondly.*—Railways have by facilitating transport developed the export trade of India. The export trade of British India is really not so great as the figures published in the Statistical Tables would appear to show. It is estimated at some 83 millions of pounds. But as was shown by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji in two articles published in the *Contemporary Review*, 1887, the true trade exports of the people of British India do not amount to more than 30 million pounds, that is to say only 3 shillings per head per annum for a population of nearly 200,000,000. But there can be no doubt that the export trade of British India has been increasing. The wheat-trade especially has undergone considerable development of late. It is almost universally held to be a very good sign. The cultivator is said to have greatly benefitted by it. He unquestionably gets better prices for his crops. But a portion of his increased profits is consumed in enhanced rent. A portion also goes to pay enhanced wages for labourers, though, unfortunately, the enhancement is not in the same proportion as that of the prices of food grains. The margin of profits that is left after meeting these charges is not very large. Still he has sufficient amount left which may be taken to be the equivalent of the grain he would have stored had not the introduction of railways offered him tempting prices to sell it. But what does he do with the cash he has in his hands? The uneducated masses are nowhere distinguished for thrift. So long as they have money in their hands, the temptation to spend it is very great. To undergo

self-denial in the present in order that they may lay by for the future requires an amount of education which they have not generally got. They are dazzled by the civilisation which is forced upon them. They are not prepared for it. They have not been gradually led up to it, they are not qualified for it. They have not acquired the habits which would enable them to adapt themselves to their new environment. They squander away a portion of the money which they get in exchange for their grain on drink or festivities; and the remainder is spent on various European articles, which the railway has brought to their doors, consisting of clothes, toys and trinkets. The danger of these articles consists in their attractiveness and comparative cheapness. The cultivator and his family probably make a better show of comfort than they ever did before. But in reality they are worse off; they live like their labourers from hand to mouth. When famine threatens, they find they have little money and scarcely any store of grain to fall back upon: so they must starve.

*Thirdly.*—We have already seen how railways have indirectly contributed to impoverish India by helping the substitution of foreign for indigenous manufactures. They have also done this directly to a small extent. There are three kinds of Railways in India: Guaranteed, Subsidised and State. For the guaranteed and subsidised railways India has long had to remit to England annually over 5 millions sterling as interest. This does not represent the entire drain. The superior management of all the railways is in the hands of the British; the savings out of the salaries of the Managers, Traffic Superintendents, and other Superior Railway Officers, swell the annual drain from India.

*Fourthly.*—Railways do not of course represent the progress of the people of India in any way. Excepting the state railways, they are all made chiefly out of English capital. All the railways have been surveyed and constructed by English Engineers; they are managed by Englishmen; the machinery and other plant required for their construction and maintenance almost entirely come from England. The capital, the enterprise and the education that are necessary for the construction and maintenance of the Railways are all British. They loudly proclaim Western civilisation in India; but they do not indicate the progress of India in any way whatever. Not only so; their extension has in one sense been detrimental to the future progress of India. The lines which are likely to be most remunerative have been constructed already. If Indians ever make sufficient progress to be able to undertake the construction of railways themselves, they will find to their dismay

that their new-born enterprise will be confronted by very serious difficulties.

*Fifthly.*—The Indian railways generally traverse tracts of deep alluvium subject to floods and require very high embankments to keep them above the flood level. These embankments obstruct not only surface drainage, but also subsoil percolation to considerable depths; the heavy trains passing over the embankments must press them and the alluvium underneath into hard almost impervious walls which cannot allow the subsoil water to percolate freely. Thus we have on either side of the railway lines stagnant marshes which must tend to spread malarial fever. It is certain that it is only since the construction of railways that Bengal has become so unhealthy as it is now. There are no doubt other causes of this insalubrity; but that railways are one of the most potent probably admits of no doubt.

I would leave the reader to weigh the good and evil effects of the railways and judge which way the scale turns. I have treated of the latter at greater length as they are usually lost sight of.

B.

### *LIFE INSURANCE.*

Life Insurance makes adjustment between the possibilities and probabilities, the accidents and averages of life. A man owes support to his dependents just as much after he is dead as while living if he could have provided that support while living.

That a man might better put his money in the bank than into a life policy is one of the commonest fallacies. The amount which secures say 5000 of insurance for a young man, on the day the first payment is made, would not amount to a single thousand in more than 7 years and during that seven years 68 out of 1000 will die. Fourteen years will elapse before money at interest will bring half the amount that it would if invested in insurance and during that time 129 out of 1000 will die. Before the money at interest reaches the amount afforded by a life insurance policy about 240 in 1000 will have died.

There is no antagonism between life insurance and banks. The two systems of laying aside money are radically different. The Insurance company provides against poverty during the time in which a man would be earning money to put in the bank. This is the period of danger and for *this* insurance alone can provide. The bank takes care of the money if you save it, it increases it if you leave it there long enough, but you must earn and wait for all the security it affords. Life assurance on the other hand affords instant security and constant security to the amount of from Twenty to Fifty times the sum paid in yearly, according to the age of the insured and the kind of policy taken.

The time was, when a life insurance agent was considered very much of a bore. If his occupation was classed as a profession at all, it was looked upon as much beneath that of many other professions. That period has long passed. Sentiment has vastly changed. Throughout every Christian land, from the metropolis through each city, even to the most distant and sparsely settled neighbourhoods on the frontier the influence of the life insurance solicitor has been felt, not only in procuring the signature to an application, but in

making proofs of deaths for beneficiaries and seeing that cheques were promptly placed in their hands, until now the great necessity of life insurance is recognised by both high and low and the agent acknowledged as a benefactor, rather than an impostor.

Nothing offered in the market for sale to-day is more popular than life insurance. No profession or occupation to-day, where large capital is not employed, offers men of character who possess, energy, tact, perseverance and enthusiasm such opportunities and possibilities as the profession of life insurance. Less than twenty years ago it was common to find newspaper writers asserting that life insurance companies were eager to get all the premiums possible, but that they returned to the policy holders as little as possible. They were represented as playing with the policy-holder a game where all the chances were against him—a sort of "heads I win—tails you lose" arrangement. All this was untrue then and no better now, though the assertion is seldom made now, as the logic of facts is against it. The largest and most successful Life offices in the world by far, are on the purely Mutual system, in which all the Profits are divided amongst the policy holders.

#### REASONS FOR INSURING LIFE.

It becomes an agent, to endeavour to impress upon the minds of all, the vast importance of securing to their families while in health, the means of a comfortable support, when their labors and their efforts can no longer avail. For there is no man in the community, be his means ever so limited, but who can through industry and economy, secure a small yearly sum which will enable him to pay the premium upon a life policy and thereby in a measure alleviate the pangs of a parting hour.

It becomes an agent to appeal more especially to those who may be in the humbler walks of life, to secure for their families a fund which will enable them by prudence, industry and frugality, to feel themselves, and in fact to be, independent in their circumstances, and able to support and educate their children, in such a way as to qualify them to become useful members of the community and secure them beyond the reach of penury and want.

It becomes an agent to urge it upon the man engaged in business. In his days of prosperity he is little apt to think of the hour when adversity may come. Successful in his plans—want, to his family is unknown—till suddenly a change comes—misfortune overtakes, poverty approaches—unhappiness begins and misery follows till real want and wretchedness are the sad consequent

How easy now to perceive that such a catastrophe might have been greatly mitigated if not entirely averted, by a single life policy.

In short, it becomes an agent to endeavour to enlist both young and old, married and single, rich and poor in this cause, for it is the cause of philanthropy, of morals, of religion and of virtue.

The influences of race characteristics have their weight even in life insurance. English plans of life insurance for the most part have constantly in view protection against premature death.

Where the American is concerned, death is something in the remote future—a policy offered as a good investment of his money is most attractive to him.

The Frenchman's idea of insurance differs again. He is as ready as the American to take up with a new plan which pleases him, but tires of it sooner. He does not consider that he may be unable to keep up the policy and demand that this contingency be recognized and provided for beforehand.

When we cross the Rhine the condition again changes. Here the value of insurance is so well understood that the Government itself has gone into the business. The speculative or investment idea is very sparingly accepted. The German wants the most protection for his family at the least cost.

To suit the tastes and circumstances of different nations abroad, new forms of policies have been introduced, an American company, the New York Life, having more than any other company. It is hardly possible to conceive a need or requirement of men in any country or station of life which cannot be met and satisfied by some one form of this company's contracts.

Life Insurance is a part of and in sympathy exactly with the idea that lies in the fact, illustrated by the way in which humanity studies in its search for knowledge—a few months ago a photograph was taken of the entire heavens and filed away in order that a thousand years from now another might be taken. Standing on that tremendous base line of a thousand years the men of that day will take another observation and learn something of those awful distances which could not be taught by the experience of one or even two generations—life insurance reaches into the future as a bird goes on its pinions into infinity.

Think of the future stand it is finally to take, how far it is finally to reach and what finally to do for humanity. It is something that is shifting and changing the entire current of human thought from the lines of selfishness to the line of co-operation and brotherhood and to the fact that every man in some sense is his brother's



keeper. How far will it go and what will it finally do? It is not too much to believe that the time will come when general society will thoroughly have learned the great lessons, the great moral truths which lie behind and under life assurance—that the time will come when a man who is called to settle his account and pass on will think not only of the money which his policy is leaving to his widow and his children, but above and beyond that he will know that humanity has been so educated and changed by these principles, that he is not leaving his family defenceless and weak amongst men, who, like hungry wolves, are ready to tear them to pieces, but that he is leaving them safe, reposing on the great heart of humanity.

L. A.

## SIR AUCKLAND COLVIN, K. C. M. G.

Before the end of the month of November, Sir Auckland Colvin will lay down the reins of government of the United Provinces, and the closing scenes of his long and eventful Indian career will have been enacted. Sir Auckland Colvin held the supreme control of the administration of one of the most interesting and prosperous provinces of India from the 21st November 1887 and filled a large space in the eyes of Her Majesty's Indian subjects and of the Anglo-Indian official world. To him this periodical is indebted for the encouragement and support it has always received from him. With us, it is at once a duty and a pleasure to enter into the review of a career that is closely associated with many important events in the North Western Provinces for the last generation.

Sir A. Colvin belongs to the race of Haileybury Civilians, a race now nearly extinct but which did its own good work of administration and reconstruction under appalling difficulties in days gone by. He entered the Civil Service on the 23rd November, 1858. After acting for some years as an Assistant-Magistrate, he was for a short time employed in the Foreign Office under the Government of India. He remained for many years a Settlement-Officer, till he was appointed Secretary to the Board of Revenue, in which capacity he thoroughly mastered the land law of the Province and was of considerable help to the administrations of Sir William Muir and Sir John Strachey. Sir George Couper selected him for an appointment in Egypt in 1878 and he remained five years in that country, returning to India as a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George and as Finance-Minister of the Supreme Council. It fell to him as Finance-Minister to move the re-imposition of the unpopular Income-tax and to negotiate the compromise over the Ilbert Bill agitation that obtained the name of *Concordat*. It fell to him to succeed Sir Alfred Lyall as Lieutenant-Governor of the N. W. Provinces in 1887, and his administration ends with the last week of November of the present year when he hands over the Government to his successor Sir Charles Hauke's Tod Crosthwaite, also a N. W. P. Civilian who has seen service in many parts of the

country and on whom fell the task of reorganizing Upper Burma when it came to form a part of the British Empire.

These are the main incidents of a career extending for 34 years, which has, with the exception of the episode in Egypt, been entirely spent in India. It is neither interesting nor profitable to notice the early years of his service at any length. He did the ordinary work that an Assistant-Magistrate, a Magistrate and Collector, and a Settlement-Officer does. He was very industrious, and evinced early a great taste for letters, and in all the duties of active life he brought an energy and patience that were positively remarkable. The Magistrate in the North Western Provinces of India has a varied and interesting task to perform. He has to apply the matured conceptions and principles of English criminal law to a people that, compared with the advanced races of Europe, are still in a very primitive state. He must be a man of large and broad understanding; otherwise he is sure to fail and degenerate into an intolerable tyrant. In applying the criminal law, in particular, he must rise above its technicalities. We have heard of Magistrates who have been known to sentence people to stripes or send them to jail whose offence consisted of plucking a few green chillies, valued at a few cowries, from street-side hedges, or for picking up the dry leaves of street-side trees for fuel. These are men of narrow notions, that always like to work by the rule of the thumb. The Indian administrator must not be a machine. He must be able to assert his individuality. To be successful, he must have to familiarize himself with complicated systems of land-tenure that require a thorough and careful study for correct comprehension. If he be a man of sensibility, open to the impressions of nature, his life, in spite of his hard work, is not altogether bereft of the charms of poetry. If Isaac Walton could demonstrate the tame and monotonous occupation of angling to possess a kinship with the pleasures of poesy, the life of the Indian district official may command those pleasures in abundance. In the winter he enjoys a delightful life in camp in different parts of his district, amid green meadows, beautiful parks, and all sorts of game. But this is the period of one's Indian career when one lays the germs of future greatness if he has the capacity for it. There are Civilians that take but little interest in their work, go through it in a lazy, listless way, feel no interest in all that goes around them, and that are content to live and die as Magistrates and Collectors or as Sessions Judges. Such men there must be in every line and they seldom succeed in getting the prizes open to honorable ambition and talent. But there are

others who feel a real enthusiasm in their work, whose stock of information about all that concerns India is large and varied, and who always find time, abridging sleep if necessary, for poring over the best productions of ancient and modern literature. Such men are sure to come to the front and to rise above their compeers almost as surely as oil comes over water in the physical world. Such men are easily recognized by the ease, grace and facility with which they draw up all their notes and reports. They are the men that are early taken into the Secretariat and that afterwards rise to appointments which constitute the blue ribbon of the service. Sir Auckland evidently belonged to the latter class, and very early he became an authority on the land problem in the N. W. Provinces. As Secretary to the Board of Revenue, he drew up a paper on the land-settlement of the N. W. Provinces, which was published in the *Gazette of India* at the especial request of Sir William Muir, the then Lieutenant-Governor. In point of mastery of facts and figures, of literary grace and ability in handling, it stands up to this time the best authoritative exposition of the official side of the question. As Secretary to the Government of the N. W. P., Sir Auckland discharged all his duties with remarkable facility. As, however, his personal share in the administrative measures in which he had a hand can never be ascertained, and as all he did must be taken to have merged in the general reputation of the Government he served; any notice of his Indian career must necessarily be silent on this point.

We need not refer at any length to Sir A. Colvin's career in Egypt. In his speeches and addresses to exclusively Mahomedan audiences in the course of his administration as Lieutenant-Governor, he has not been slow to declare that it was in Egypt that he gained that intimate acquaintance with, and innate sympathy for, Islam that distinguished him conspicuously in later life. He was Finance-Minister of India for four years, and to his lot fell the ungrateful task of meeting the increased and almost overwhelming expenditure for securing the Western frontier against the expected attack at no-distant date of a powerful and diplomatic European foe. As Finance-Minister he had to advise the re-imposition of the Income-tax and to do all that he could to make the Indian community swallow so distasteful a pill. His financial administration was not characterized by any new or striking departure but was of the ordinary routine type. But during his tenure of office in the Supreme Council, he took an active part in the general administration of the country and he was of great use to Lord Ripon's Government in allaying the furious and almost, insane agitation

against the Ilbert Bill, the provisions of which were regarded by both sides as possessing a significance utterly disproportioned to their actual scope. Sir Auckland Colvin suggested the compromise which at least saved the principle of the Bill and which the European community accepted with good grace. When Lord Ripon was about to vacate his high office, there appeared in the columns of the *Pioneer* that remarkable paper, entitled, "If it is real, what does it mean?" which is generally ascribed to the pen of Sir A. Colvin. It is a statesmanlike paper, breathing a broad and liberal spirit, and instinct with the deepest sympathy with the children of the soil.

The administration of Sir Auckland Colvin in the N. W. Provinces and Oudh has been characterised by several important departures. He always took the deepest interest in all questions relating to the health, and the hygienic conditions and the sanitation of the cities in his wide domain, and it is during his term of office that the large hospital buildings of Agra, and the waterworks of the cities of Allahabad, Agra, Benares and Cawnpore, have been inaugurated, and female hospitals have been commenced or completed in nearly every large and important centre of population. Sir Auckland Colvin felt a real enthusiasm in all that concerned this subject, and always strove to inspire his own feelings into the members of the medical profession subordinate to him. He lashed indolent Municipalities into action in this respect, made large grants out of the Provincial funds to all large cities. He was a warm supporter of the Lady Dufferin Fund, and during his five years' rule the record of the successful efforts that have been made for providing medical aid to the women of India has been singularly brilliant. He is a great advocate of the system of frequent tours by all his official subordinates as he considers this to be the best means of bringing the Government home to the people and of making the officials themselves learn at first hand all that concerns them in their work of proper and sympathetic administration. Sir Auckland Colvin is not one of those who view the appointment of the natives of India to high offices with disfavour. He has appointed several natives to high offices and has occasionally placed districts in charge of Statutory Civilians as an experiment untried till his time in that part of India. The British Government of India is a despotism pure and simple. The people have no voice in the making or the unmaking of the laws to which they are subject. They have no control over either the expenditure or the means of raising the income for meeting that expenditure. Very frequently the laudable desire is manifested of ascertaining their voice, and of adapting administrative measures to that voice when

unmistakably ascertained. But the means of ascertaining it are very scanty and very unreliable. There is again no difficulty in setting it aside, when particular administrators choose to do so, by only pretending that it is not the voice of the entire community. Despotism the Government is, though the despotism is tolerable in consequence of the numerous checks provided on individual will. Not that alone. There are compensations, real and substantial, reconciling the governed to the despotism under which they live. One of these solid compensations is the offer of careers to native ambition and native talent. It is true that the British are still novices in the art of Imperialism, for in this respect even Islam can be their teacher. A Todar Mull settled the revenues of Mogul India. A Jeswant Sing fought the battles of the Empire beyond the Indus. A Man Sing pushed the conquests of his Imperial master on every side of India and stamped out rebellion and insurrection even when raised by Hindu chiefs. The day is far distant when Britain will be able to follow in the tread of Islam in the game of Empire. A few appointments in the Civil administration of the country are all that have been opened to the children of the soil. Those Anglo-Indian administrators who grudge to give even these slices to the natives are destitute of real culture. Blind alike to the principles of solid polity and the teachings of history, they are very inferior men unable to grapple the very idea of Imperialism. Even barbarous Russia may teach them the game of Empire-playing. The British Parliament has done much to point out the way. Individual British statesman, of even Indian experience (without which nobody is believed to have a *locus standi* in such discussions) like Macaulay, for example, have enunciated the noblest principles of Imperial rule. But the Indian Civil Service, untrue to its own traditions, numbers many men among it that are for adopting a retrograde policy in this matter. To shut out the people of the country from its public offices, to refuse them careers; is the worst possible way of ruling an Empire. Sir Auckland Colvin is a man of superior culture. His views are necessarily broad. He is incapable of viewing with jealousy the appointment of the natives of India to the higher offices. He is a statesman. That determines his attitude with respect to this question. No notice, however short, of Sir A. Colvin can be complete without referring to his attitude towards the Indian Congress. His views on the Congress, to which he gave an elaborate expression in his controversy with Mr. Hume, and his action with reference to Local Self-government, have been severely criticised. He acted on the principle, which he had so clearly and distinctly

enunciated in some of his public speeches during the first year of his reign, that the Indian people have not yet passed the rudimentary forms of political education. Both made him tremendously unpopular in the eyes of the educated classes all over India. And well they might. The standpoints of the Congress and of the Anglo-Indian official are totally different. It must be conceded that the views which he expressed with such honest sincerity are the views of a large class of Anglo-Indian Civilian who administer the country. The Indian reformers, remembering that the standpoints of the officials and of themselves in the matter of viewing all questions of domestic reform are exactly the reverse of each other, should regard Sir Auckland Colvin as only an exponent of the most influential section of his countrymen in India. Their charge of Sir A. Colvin having altered his views may count much with uncharitable critics. But what, after all, is the truth? While still a very young man, with ideas of Government derived only from study and as yet uncorrected by actual observation or experience, he Englished Sir Sayyed Ahmed's Urdu pamphlet recommending a scheme of Representative Government for India. Supposing him to have undertaken the task of translation because of the views advocated in the brochure having coincided with his own and because of his determination to give a wider publicity to them, a change of front in after life cannot bring him any blame. In politics, every notion is necessarily tentative. The greatest statesmen have at one time enunciated views which they were afterwards obliged to abandon. Sir James Mackintosh, than whom a honester politician cannot easily be named, lived to recant the heresies of his *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, when the excesses of the French Revolution sent a thrill of horror throughout the civilised world and made every man look upon Burke as the saviour of Europe. Gladstone himself in early life was a staunch Conservative. His policy of Home rule for Ireland may easily be shown to be directly opposed to the principles he advocated during the first years of his splendid parliamentary career. Macaulay as a young Collegian was a bitter Tory. His conversion to Liberalism, brought about by his discussions with Austin, involved no disgrace, moral or intellectual. That Sir Auckland Colvin, therefore, should live to alter his views on one of the momentous questions affecting the good government of India is no wonder. The *argumentum ad hominem* must fail in such a case. We ourselves hold that some kind of Representative government may safely be granted to India. We think that the argument against the grant of such government to the people of India that is based on the difference of creeds and

nationalities occurring in this country of almost continental proportions, does not possess much strength. Holding these views, we can still have patience with those that are opposed to us. The question needs threshing out. Calm and dispassionate discussion is wanted, not vituperation or unmeaning severity and caustic criticism.

In reviewing the publications of the Congress, Sir Auckland Colvin wounded up one of his notices with some final remarks. These remarks were afterwards quoted with approbation by Lord Dufferin in his famous St. Andrew's dinner Speech. Who that has read the publications which were before Sir Auckland Colvin when he wrote those words would venture to find fault with him? It is true that the Indian Congress is not a disloyal movement. It is true that the Congress does not wish for the abrogation of British rule. It is true that the Congress has addressed itself to bring out the faults of that rule only for remedying them by constitutional means. It is true that the very basis of the agitation the Congress has set up is the preservation of the political union of India and Britain. But then who will not admit that some of the publications of the Congress, and some of the speeches of its more prominent promoters, are really open to considerable misconstruction? A Yule or a Wedderburn, while addressing in English a cultivated audience fully competent to catch the meaning quite as readily as any audience in England and better prepared to understand and applaud every allusion to English classics than a miscellaneous audience, in even the United Kingdom generally is, may criticise severely any general feature of British Indian administration without the slightest danger of producing disaffection to that administration in the minds of his hearers. But the game is not the same when thousands of pamphlets and brochures are sown broadcast over the land, written in the vernaculars of the people and addressed to the uneducated masses of the country. The greatest care ought to be taken of the tone and the language employed. A total silence on what British rule has already done for the country is not only objectionable, but is even positively dangerous. A recital of only the abuses which the writers desire to remedy would naturally have the effect of inflaming the hearts of the readers. Sir Auckland Colvin's burning criticism of those publications ought to be taken as a friendly warning, and the promoters of the Congress, instead of finding fault with him, ought to thank him sincerely for having pointed out to them their grave shortcoming.

Naturally enough the cause of Local Self-government of the educated classes has not made much progress. Sir Auckland



Colvin, though it must be acknowledged that he showed remarkable freedom from prejudice in re-nominating the late Pandit Ayo-dhya Nath and in appointing Babu Ram Kali Chowdhry to seats in the Legislative Council. Sir Auckland, as a model bureaucratic ruler, generally preferred the claims of uneducated men having practical experience to those of well-educated graduates of our Universities, on the favorite theory of the North Western Provinces official world that practical experience works better than School or College education. He has been a special friend to the Mahomedans, and although in Upper India where Urdu is the Court language the Mahomedans obtain more than their fair share of the employments under the Government, he has spared no pains to befriend their cause. In all other respects his administration has been a routine administration. His solution of the problem of the perpetual quarrels between the Hindus and Mahomedans in the United Provinces is not considered satisfactory by one large section of the people. He has looked very minutely into the affairs of the Rampur State and can claim the credit of having put all things right during the minority of the young Nawab and the disturbances attending the murder of General Azimuddin Khan on his accession to office. He founded a Legislative Council and a University, and to him fell the practical work in connection with them at the first start. His Council did no work that calls for any particular notice, but University education made great and rapid strides during his rule. The rules of the High Court that necessitated High education for all its important Offices and for qualifying Vakils gave a great impetus to the cause of High education. As a speaker he was not much above the average and in his public speeches during the last five years he has enunciated no new or striking policy. He closely stuck to the theory that social influence, wealth, and aristocratic birth, are the best qualifications for determining the action of Government in the matter of making public appointments, and that individual attainments, when not accompanied by some of the above circumstances, and the people as a whole, are simply to be passed over. Perhaps, as a Haileybury man, his experience of Competitive Civilians, not always taken from the better classes of society, determined him to the adoption of this policy.

These are main points of a career that commenced in India before the embers of the Mutiny had been finally trodden out and that closes with one of the highest offices that the Civil Service has to bestow on any of its members. His father had filled the same high office more than 30 years ago. His lot had been cast amid

the stormy days of a great rebellion, the greatest that had ever occurred in the annals of Britain's Empire in India and that threatened to extinguish British influence in the East. Incessant toil and watch, and the very anxieties of his position, claimed him as their victim. Not endowed with any brilliant qualifications for the viceroyalty of a large Province, he was nevertheless a good ruler, honestly disposed to do his duties by the people, and achieve that measure of success which was within his reach if nothing extraordinary had happened. When the son was called, in course of time, to the same office, people expected that he would walk in the footsteps of his gentle father in the matter of befriending them, while his brilliant antecedents led many to indulge the hope that he would make a model administrator in every respect. He has certainly befriended the people, though but in his own way, and a successful administrator he has been, though the measure of his success has not been large. The career of Sir A. Colvin, regarded from the point of view of the advanced school of Indian politicians, would appear, as has been so often expressed, to have been disappointing; but we must not forget that the real administrators of the land, those whose position and opportunities make them no mean judges of the wants and capacities of the country on the one hand and of the people on the other, regard Indian problems and Indian administration in an altogether different light. By the Anglo-Indian world, Sir A. Colvin would be regarded as a model administrator. He has deviated into no new and striking path, he has given no undue prominence to the children of the soil, he has calmly trodden in the safe grooves of his predecessors, he has upheld the honor of the Civil Service whenever it required to be upheld; he has favored rank and wealth, done his best to conciliate the Mahomedan subjects under his rule who, as the immediate predecessors of the English in the conquest of India, require to be conciliated; he has looked at all things with a practical turn of mind, and has adopted vigorous measures whenever the people showed little signs of unrest and impatience of authority; and above all, he leaves signs of material prosperity behind him in the shape of waterworks, hospitals, and sanitary schemes. All this is the criterion by which he would be judged by his brother members of the Service, and in all these respects he has not been wanting. As for those advanced views of administration enunciated in solemn state-papers and advocated by statesmen of large calibre, the simple answer he has practically given has been that they have no application or *locus standi* under a unique polity like that of India.

## OUR PARIS LETTER.

M. Lockroy is married to Victor Hugo's daughter-in-law, and this has secured for him a certain notoriety. His father was an actor and a play-wright, who had the eccentric idea to "furnish" his sepulchre, which he had designed and erected himself, with personal souvenirs of his life, therein included his favorite authors. His son did not receive an education for any defined end; he volunteered as a unit in Garibaldi's "Thousand;" then he became private secretary to M. Renan, during the latter's Scientific mission to Syria. Next he joined a crusade against Bachibazouks; then turned up as a smart paragraphist on the staff of the *Figaro*; wrote a few passable vandeilles, and drifted into politics as an advanced republican, where, thanks to his marriage with Madame Charles Hugo, he became a somebody among his party. It was this political status that led to his appointment as Minister of Commerce and Industry; and in another Cabinet, Minister of Public Instruction and of Cultes. Both nominations made the unskilful laugh and the judicious grieve, as M. Lockroy had neither the competency nor the training for either portfolios. Sydney Smith said of Earl Russell that he believed himself competent, at a moment's notice, "to build St. Paul's, cut for the stone, or command the Channel Fleet." In that comparison, M. Lockroy approaches the late Earl.

Bearing these observations in mind, the reader will best comprehend the fitness of M. Lockroy to publish a volume, *Historie de la guerre of 1870*, being, as he claims, "a refutation" of the grave, authoritative and scrupulously exact work, by Marshal de Moltke, on that event. Moltke's narrative is cold, passionless, and impartial, as truth itself; he neither extenuates nor sets down aught in malice; he blames the Germans when they committed blunders, and praises the French wherever he has an opportunity for doing so. Of M. Lockroy's technical knowledge, it may be charitably passed over. So may be the "small beer," he chronicles, gathered from writers and hotel-keepers, as to the Marshal's desire to encounter Victor Hugo, when they were accidentally staying at the same hotel a few years ago. It has been said that when Moltke was not thinking of war-problems, his mind was occupied about his marigolds, and sheep,—for he was a born agriculturist. But as for poets and poetry, he was about as much concerned in them as the Emperor of China in "Home Rule."

But M. Lockroy's book is valuable, not for its flippant portrait of the Marshal,—the "inside" and not the outside of whose head is what historians are occupied with,—but because his views represent the present state of French feeling respecting the inevitable European collision. He also tells his countrymen some unpleasant

truths, and urges them not to be led away by vanity, or conceit, in examining the conditions of the coming war. He accepts the dictum of the late Prince Napoleon, that the 1870 war was undertaken for the defence of the temporal power of the Pope, with result for France of the loss of Alsace and of the Italian alliance. It was the seizure of Tunisia by France that threw Italy into the Triple alliance, a fact M. Lockroy probably desires to forget. The 1870 war was simply an adventure: the plan of the Rhine campaign was "order, counter-order, and disorder." M. Lockroy admits that for purposes of mobilisation and concentration of troops, the German railway system possesses superior advantages over France,—no small matter in future battles, where time is victory.

The author's criticisms on offensive and defensive tactics may be passed over; as also his expectation that electricity may supersede smokeless powder. The old *Figaro* hand breaks in there. It seems that the era of *Niles* and *Trafalgars* is past. In this M. Lockroy is in opposition with the best naval authorities. After according due weight to torpedo contests, and greyhound cruisers preying mutually on commerce, the iron-clads must still bear the last word. For example; to invade England, the French fleets at Toulon and Breast would first have to unite; to prevent that coalition comprises the whole strategy of the English fleet. Italy's navy is formidable; it would become invincible if, joined to that of Germany and Austria, it was protected by the British fleet. Italy could, in some hours, from her impregnable ports of Spezia, Maddalena, and Tarente, make a descent upon Corsica, and ravage the French sea-board from Cete, Nice—Italia Irredenta—to Marseilles, while the Germans could play similar havoc with Dunkerque, Boulonge, Calais, and Havre.

The next war is prophesied to be long, not brief, because there will be so many millions of men to slaughter—all a people in a word, as after one army is swept away, another will have formed, till extermination causes the combat to cease. The French, adds the author, must be prepared from the outset, to see their foreign possessions cut off and taken. All communication between them and the mother country would cease. Chinese soldiers, under the guise of pirates or black flags, would flood into Tonkin and Annam; the Tonaregs and Kaybyles would rise-up into insurrection in Algeria; the Tunisians would follow suit. But what could France do, asks M. Lockroy, when her ports were destroyed or blocked; her land frontiers closed by the invading armies of Germany and Italy; her able-bodied men, from 20 to 45 years old, and her workmen—taken from commerce, industry, and agriculture? She would be in the position of a country that produced no more; depending on her own resources for food-supplies, but placed in the impos-

sibility to import them. It is in the placing of these problems before the eyes of the French that the importance of M. Lockroy's book consists, and the moral flowing from it is that the power which commands the sea dominates all land armaments, however bloated.

As what is called "light literature"—which includes all worthless productions,—is rapidly on the decline, and only a few notable *romanciers* find an intellectual market, the reading taste of the public falls back on historical subjects, souvenirs, memoirs, journals, &c., for its pabulum. There is quite an intense desire to devour all that is published about battles, sieges, &c. In *Le Roi Louis-Philippe*, (Dentu), the Marquis de Flers endeavours to clear the name and fair fame of Louis-Philippe from much mud and legend. He has had access to the family archives, and has selected 150 interesting letters to support the stand-points from which he depicts the portrait of the king. The "modern Orleanists" date their origin from Louis XIVth's brother, the Duc d'Orleans, married to the Princess Henrietta of England. The volume contains the portraits of all the heads of the line, from them till now. Madame de Genlis was the governess of Louis-Philippe, and she had much difficulty in repressing his calf-love for her, as all the affection she had to spare was reserved apparently for his father. When a very young man, Louis-Philippe, during the flight of the royal family to Varennes, was the means of saving two clergymen from being torn to pieces by a mob; for this act of humanity, he was awarded a "Civic crown," and the latter hangs in the study at Euchateau.

Kellermann cited Louis-Philippe, then Duc de Chartres and later Duc d'Orleans, when his father Philippe Egalite was guillotined, in an order of the day, for bravery. Perhaps, the most curious episode in the life of Louis-Philippe was his interview with Danton, wherein the great tribune predicted that France "would never accept the elder Bourbons but would rally to a democratic monarchy, perhaps with you, at its head, giving to the people the two benefits they most required—order and liberty, and that they least knew how to conserve." He implored Louis-Philippe that should he ever become king he should remember that Paris was the heart of France, and not fail to fortify the capital—a work undertaken and executed by Louis-Philippe and which the Third Republic demands to be abolished. Forced into exile after the battle of Jemmapes, and destitute of means, L.-Philippe sought refuge in Switzerland: he replied to an advertisement, taking the name of his valet, demanding an usher for Latin and mathematics, in the College of Reicheneau, on a salary of 1,400 fr. a year. In the competitive examination for the office, he was declared the victor. It was while thus employed, altogether for ten months, he learned the

tragic end of his father. Obtaining some money from friends, L.-Philippe travelled in Scandinavia; then joined his brothers in America, where he practised phlebotomy—he studied “veins” in cabbage leaves under Madame de Genlis, and the first patient he tried his ‘prentice hand upon, he bled to death. He left the States for London, where he nursed his dying brother, on whose death, the remains were buried with royal honors in Westminster Abbey.

Louis-Philippe’s intriguing for the throne, and his rôle in the revolution of 1830 that expelled Charles X., are hardly touched upon. As king, he was of the good bourgeois order; he taught his subjects not only how to make money but to save it against the rainy day. He superintended the education of his sons minutely; every day the masters reported on the progress and conduct of the boys; he reprimanded them when ill-behaved or lethargic; the present Prince de Joinville, then aged six years, was very troublesome. It may not be generally known that Louis-Philippe restored the palace of Versailles, then falling into ruins, at a cost of 23 fr. millions, and made it a temple for “all the glories of France.” Respecting the 1848 Revolution, it is generally believed, that the king and queen fled in a cab from Paris. The author corrects this, explaining that they drove off in broughams, openly and unmolested; unaware of this accommodation, their son, the Duc de Nemours had sent a cab to their rescue—hence, the origin of the story.

*Le Siege de la Rochelle*, by admiral de la Gravière (Firmin-Didot), not only relates one of the most brilliant struggles in French history, where the Huguenot capital and its 30,000 inhabitants defied the whole power of France, personally directed by Cardinal Richelieu. The besieged could hold out indefinitely, so long as they were reinforced by the English fleet, but the Cardinal having built a dyke of stone, half a mile long, across the mouth of the harbor, further resistance was useless, though the besieged held out for 15 months longer till the garrison was reduced to 150 soldiers and a moiety of the population starved to death. The author supplies some interesting information respecting the early French navy, and draws instructive parallels between coast defences then and now. During the reign of Louis XIII., France had no royal navy. When ships were required for war, they were chartered from private owners, while the sailors of the period, and for many years following, were simply corsairs. By pinnaces, manned and fearlessly led by Englishmen, the Cardinal’s blockade was run for a long time. When the starving inhabitants rushed out of the city at low tides, to gather shellfish, the Cardinal ordered them to be shot down without mercy. Quite different was the conduct of Henry IV, when he besieged Paris: he sent in convoys of food to the famished: ~~but~~ then the population, as well as the capital, “were worth a mass.”

*Sensations d'Italie*, by M. Paul Bourget, (Dentu), who is called the ambulatory psychologist. He prefers the word "Sensations" to "Impressions," because the latter better represents his curious state of mind, not given to Leopardian despair, nor yet to Werthian sorrow, but a soft struggle against the ennui of life. He reflects over his environment. In spring, he likes to contemplate the green meadows of England; in summer the Scotch lakes, and in winter he follows the swallows to the blue sky of Italy. Like the bee, he gathers honey always in sunshine and amidst flowers. He avoids the beaten tracks of Rome, Florence, Venice, &c., and wanders, more or less long, in the secondary cities, which, though less known, are full of infinite charm, and their surroundings,—the happiest specimens of the picturesque. And this peculiar plan of noting, commenting, and contrasting, is enhanced by a well-stored mind, bringing to bear the appropriate reflections of by-gone tourists, such as Montaigne, President de Brosses, &c., thus marking as it were the harmonies of man and of nature. The volume enables the reader to indulge in "sad joy," while being of actual interest.

It is a safe rule, to accept French books of travel with a little of the *cum grano salis*, especially when relating to regions, not much known, to enable their being controlled. M. Harry Allis compiles a volume, *A la conquête du Schad*, (Huchette). It is an account of the intentions of M. Crampel to arrive at the South-east side of that lake, steal a march as it were behind the natural winterland of English interests. Crampel was killed by the natives, not because he was French, but a European and an infidel dog, with whom the fanatical Moslems will have nothing to do. The author, without a particle of proof, accuses the English of having brought about his assassination. It is the same with the fox-like voyage of Lieutenant Mizon, who was refused aid by the Niger Company, to explore their territory, and execute treaties with natives behind their backs. There is not much to be gained by friendliness with such explorers. There is nothing new in the compilation: the sufferings of the explorers are small; in comparison with those of Stanley and previous travellers. *Trois mois de Captivité au Dohomey* by M. Chaudoin, (Plon), relates a few new facts; he invents nothing; calumniates no nation, not even the Dahomeyans. It appears to be a crime for a foreigner to learn the language of the country, and the code of King Behanzin has only one penalty—death. The most remarkable fact about the famous royal body-guard of Amagous is the electric rapidity with which they slaughter an ox and devour it raw—all parts save the hide and horns.

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# THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE

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## *SURGEON COLONEL ARCHIBALD HAMILTON HILSON, -M. D.*

The high official appointments in India are always beset with difficulties, filled as they are by Englishmen who come to this country of various peoples with diverse tongues, diverse notions, and diverse customs peculiar to the religion professed by each and often antagonistic to one another. In this maze and medley of things quite foreign to English ideas, it is a wonder that Englishmen, who like the rest of mankind are fallible, do not, more often than is the case, misjudge us and our doings. Intentional injustice is, of course, out of the question. Errors of judgment, however, do occur, and will occur as long as the majority of the legislative, judicial, and executive appointments will continue to be held by Englishmen. Upon the whole, as already said, such errors are few and far between. It is no wonder, therefore, that the subject of this little sketch has passed through a long and brilliant career, earning the good opinion of all with whom he came in contact. The regret is very general at the retirement of Dr. Hilson, the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals in Bengal.

We shall, in this paper, give a summary of the services of the retiring Officer. He was born in England on the 3rd of January, 1835. Dr. Hilson entered the Queen's Medical Service at the end of 1855, and having served for a year in the Hospital of Chatham and Woolwich, entered the Indian Army by competition, and landed at Calcutta on the 3rd of June, 1857. He served throughout the Indian Mutiny with the Nagai Brigade, and

the Nepalese troops, in the Saran and Goruckpore districts, and in the province of Oude. He was present at the actions of Mairah, Chandipore, Phoolpore, Belnes, Amorha twice, Jugdispore, and at Doomeriagunge and other minor engagements. At Jugdispore, while rendering aid to the wounded of H. M.'s 13th Foot, he was severely wounded by a musket-ball which shattered his lower jaw.

After this, he was appointed to the charge of the 26th Punjab Infantry, then at Campbellpore near Attock on the Indus. He marched thence, with that regiment, in the height of the hot weather, through Lahore, Delhi, Cawnpore and Lucknow to the Nepalese frontier. This movement occupied a period of about 3 months from the middle of March to June, 1859. After this he was Civil Surgeon of Allyghur, Azimghur, and Goruckpore. While at the latter place, he was ordered to join the Bhootan Expedition which was starting to recover the guns captured by the Bhootahs at the Fort of Dewangiri. While there he was appointed principal Medical Officer of the force, under Colonel Richardson, C. B., who advanced into the interior of the country to the Monasbridge where the guns were recovered.

At the termination of hostilities, he again applied for Civil employment, and was appointed to the Civil station of Naini Tal for two years. He then went on furlough for 20 months, and voluntarily attended the Medical School of Netley, where he studied Hygiene, Pathology and Military Surgery, and was brought to the notice of the Secretary of State for India by the Professors of the School. After this, he was appointed a member of the India Office, Medical Board, of which Sir Ronald Martin was then President. Returning to India in 1869, he held successively the Civil charges of Bijnour, Moradabad, and Naini Tal, the latter for the second time. During his stay at Bijnour, he spent a considerable time, at the request of Government, in experimenting on the effects of snake bites with a view to test the efficacy of the *Ammonia* treatment which had been considered efficacious for snake poison in Australia. Two cases of snake bite, treated by Dr. Hilson, were published in 1872 in the *Indian Medical Gazette*.

In 1875, he was appointed Civil Surgeon and Principal of the Medical School at Agra: he had also charge of the Leper Asylum, and made some careful experiments to test the efficacy of the Gurjan oil treatment. These were published in the *Indian Annals of Medical Science* in 1877.

In 1881, four years before Lady Dufferin arrived in India, he had opened a class for the Medical Education of women. At that time the scheme was started under great difficulties. It was com-

paratively easy to get Native Christian students from the different Missionary bodies in Upper India, but Dr. Hilson knew, from his long association with the people of this country, that if the suffering women of all classes were to be reached, women of all castes, must be educated. He, therefore, worked long and strenuously, and with some success, to induce women of the higher castes to come forward as students.

In December 1888, at Agra, at the opening of the Lady Lyall Hospital, at which Lady Dufferin and Surgeon-General Rice were present, Sir Auckland Colvin spoke in the warmest terms of Dr. Hilson's disinterested and philanthropic efforts in connection with the female class. He said,—“There is one man, your Excellency, whose name is uppermost in my mind to-day, and of whose work I must speak. We can scarcely overestimate the work of that good and brave man who for four years, before your Excellency put your foot on these shores, single-handed and in the face of opposition, struggled to start, and succeeded in starting, one of the first medical classes for Native women in Upper India. That his scheme has succeeded, the handsome buildings rising around us, and the sixty women now before us, are ample proofs, Dr. Hilson having started 5 years ago, with four native Christians, and a small rented bungalow.” It is worthy of note, that some of Dr. Hilson's ideas, which he worked into his own scheme, were considered worthy of adoption by Lady Dufferin, in organizing her great work.

After obtaining promotion to the rank of Deputy Surgeon-General, Dr. Hilson officiated for four months as principal Medical Officer of the Bundelkund Division. He was then appointed to officiate as Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals in Bengal, which he did for eight months, reverting to the Military Department for five months, during which time, he was present at the Camp of Exercise at Mian Mir. In April 1889, he was confirmed in his appointment of Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, Bengal, on the retirement of Dr. Cowie. He is now the second Officer in rank in the Indian Medical Service. Dr. Hilson was asked by Surgeon-General Rice to act for him as Surgeon-General with the Government of India this autumn, but being in failing health, he has decided to remain in his present appointment until his retirement which will take place next April. He has meanwhile taken three months' sick leave, being scarcely able to continue at his post.

This is scarcely the place where reference can be made to that one action in Dr. Hilson's long career which evoked strong comments from a section of the Indian Press. We, of course, allude to the dismissal of the three Native Medical Officers in

consequence of the suspicions entertained about their honor as Examinees in the Septennial Examination in which they appeared. The dismissal was discussed from every point of view. Not only had the honor of the Examinees been called into question, but the conduct of the Professors also who had superintended the Examinations had been impliedly condemned. Dr. Hilson had ordered the Assistant-Surgeons to undergo a fresh Examination. This the subordinate Officers could not do without admitting by their compliance the truth and justice of the suspicions entertained against them. They respectfully remonstrated, pointing out the orders of the Government of India which limited Dr. Hilson's powers of interference. They explained that their refusal to undergo a fresh Examination did not arise from any motive of disobeying orders but that it was due to their unwillingness to do anything that would have the effect of giving a handle to the imputation on their honor as gentlemen and as officers. Their action was supported by the Professors who had superintended the Examinations. Their attitude commanded sympathy. Unfortunately, it was a knotty problem to solve. The order had been issued. Official discipline required that it should be obeyed. From this point of view, all that followed could hardly be blamed. Dr. Hilson could not adopt a middle course. The Government of India, however, could throw oil on troubled waters. The appeal of the Assistant-Surgeons to restoration to service ought to have been successful. We fear, however, that their case was spoiled by the line of advocacy adopted in their memorial. The attitude of the Assistant-Surgeons was not properly explained. While sympathising, therefore, with the Assistant-Surgeons, we cannot find fault with Dr. Hilson for what he did. Official discipline knows no compromise and always fails to make allowances for private feelings. Even if it was an error of judgment, the question should not have been made bitterly personal.

For the past six years we have ourselves met with much kindness at the hands of this distinguished Officer. We are naturally among those who will feel his loss most, for we can never forget his numerous acts of friendship and courtesy towards us. We take this opportunity, therefore, to wish Brigade-Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel A. H. Hilson many years of useful and happy retirement in his native land, employed in saving life and alleviating suffering, and happy in the consciousness of having done his duty faithfully throughout his long and arduous career in a foreign land.

**THE INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF INDIA.**

**THE LAND PROBLEM OF INDIA.**—The English did not acquire any proprietary interest in land in India till Job Charnock laid the foundations of Calcutta at Chutanutti and obtained from Emperor Feroksha the talukdari right of 38 villages. The previous history of the East India Company was the history of merchants whose trade was sometimes favored and sometimes thwarted, according, that is, as the caprice of the native officials of the sovereigns of the land dictated. The factory at Calcutta flourished as a commercial establishment till 1757, when Suraj-ud-Dowlah, the Nawab of Bengal, required the English to surrender a political offender Kishen Das, son of Raja Rajballabh. On their refusing to do so, the Nawab attacked the factory, defeated the English, and aided by his remissness the enactment of the tragedy of the Black Hole. When Colonel Clive retrieved this signal disaster by his brilliant victory at Plassey on the 23rd June 1757, a treaty was concluded with Mir Jaffir whom the victors set on the throne of Bengal, by which they acquired the *Zemindari* right of the Twenty-four Pergannas. Another treaty, concluded on the 27th September 1860, with Mir Kasim, provided that the districts of Burdwan, Midnapur, and Chittagong, which in those days yielded nearly one-third of the revenues of Bengal, should be assigned to the East India Company in perpetual sovereignty. But up to the year 1765, the Company did not divest themselves of their character as merchants, and while charged with the military defence of the province they left the details of internal administration to the puppet Nawab of Murshidabad and his creatures. They did not collect the revenues of any but the districts assigned to them for the maintenance of their army. They left criminal justice entirely in the hands of the Naib Nazim or the Deputy to the Minister of criminal justice, and they satisfied themselves with the enjoyment of peculiar privileges of trade. The firman of the Emperor of Delhi which conferred the *Dewani* on the East India Company is dated the 12th August, 1765, which provides that subject to the payment of 26 lacs annually to the imperial treasury the Company is to col-

lect the entire revenues of the province. The Dewani also charged the Company with the military defence of the province. The administration of criminal justice was still left to the old establishment. It was the usual custom of the Mahomedan sovereigns to invest separate persons with the powers of Dewan and Nizamat in each province, and only very especially favored persons were entrusted with both these powers at one and the same time. The Dewani was granted by the above *firman* to the English in perpetuity but the 26 lacs of rupees which the Company were to pay annually was to provide for the expenses of the administration of criminal justice which still continued to be in the hands of the Emperor's deputies. The administration of civil justice, the entire control of the finances and all the other essentials of civil justice, with the reservation mentioned above, were ceded in perpetuity by the Emperor of Delhi whose name and traditional authority still carried weight with the minds of the people.

The English, entrusted with the powers of collecting the revenue, established two native Dewans at Patna and Murshidabad, and in 1769 a set of officers under the style of Supervisors were appointed for the purpose. The instructions sent out to the Supervisors were to the effect that they should collect complete information about all things connected with the land revenue. Versed as they were in the language and customs of the country, they were to rely on no second-hand information but were to make all inquiries personally and permit easy access to themselves by all classes of the population. They were to pay special attention to the relative positions of Zemindars and raiyats and to see that while the Zemindar should be secured in the receipt of his just dues, the raiyat was to have the full and complete enjoyment of all that was his after the just deduction in favor of the Zemindar. They were ordered to make out accurate lists of the amount of land and the rent-roll in each district, and they were further to ascertain the aggregate amount of collections that the raiyats paid either in the shape of rent or abwabs, and they were to consolidate the same into a fixed payment and enter it in a *patta* showing precisely the amount of land that he held and the rent that he was to pay. The Supervisors, who were soon after (May 1773) styled Collectors, did their best to carry out these instructions and succeeded to some extent. But it was found that it was not possible for a mere handful of men to collect and digest the vast mass of information required of them. Sir William Hunter, in his admirable book, the Imperial Gazetteer, tells us how after nearly a century of continuous efforts the vast mass of information was

first placed under his disposal and which he attempted to embody in a readable form in the volumes he has issued. He dates the beginning of these minute enquiries into the details of the people and the conditions under which they live to the year 1770 when the Supervisors were appointed. There was a great famine in Bengal in 1770 and nearly a third of its population was swept away by that dire calamity. The distress was too deep and widespread to be grappled with by individual means, and this state of things nearly stopped the progress of those enquiries on which the Government had intended to found a just, an equitable, and an intelligent revenue system. The administration of the revenue by Native Dewans having proved unsatisfactory, they were dismissed in 1771, and the Company determined to stand forth as the Dewan. A Committee of Revenue and the Provincial Councils were established and Messrs. Croftes, Bogle and Anderson were deputed to make a tour through all Bengal and procure exact information as to the real value of the lands and the produce, the exact nature of the tenure and the rates under which the raiyats held them. The central administration of the provincial revenues with the responsible local agents was continued till in 1786, when members of the Civil Service were first placed in charge of specified areas of lands and were charged with the collection and administration of the land revenue and a Central Board, under the style of Board of Revenue, was established at the presidency town. The Board were to superintend and control the acts of the local agents, while the latter had to acquire exact information as to the districts under their charge, the relative rights and interests in land of all persons resident therein, and the share of the produce that ought to be taken as the portion of the Government for public expenses. The settlements remained annual and were revised at the end of every two harvests. There was considerable discussion between Mr. Hastings and Mr. Francis as to the means of settling the land revenue for a longer period to give the landlords some interest in the land and to make them exert themselves to improve its condition. But although the Government exerted itself to effect a settlement for a fixed period, the system in use was that of letting the lands in farm for a year, so that the Government share of the produce may be properly gathered. A quinquennial settlement of Bengal was effected in 1772. The discussions between Mr. Hastings and Mr. Francis turn chiefly on the expediency and necessity of the Government interfering between the Zemindars and the raiyats. Mr. Francis maintained that while the greater part of Bengal lay waste and the Zemindars wanted the raiyots to come



and till those waste lands, the raiyat had an advantage over the Zemindar and any interference on the part of the Government would lead to the invasion of the rights of the Zemindars. The Governor-General, on the contrary, maintained that the existing information with reference to the fiscal state of Bengal was extremely defective, and that as means existed for fuller and more complete information nothing should be done without securing such information. The mischief, however, of annual settlements which gave no incentive to the improvement of cultivation, under which system valuable crops can seldom, if at all, be grown, was too apparent, and it was felt that something must be done. Life settlements with the Zemindars were proposed but was negatived by the Court of Directors who sent out orders for a Decennial Settlement. At this stage Warren Hastings left India, and his successor, the Marquis of Cornwallis, took up the administration. That nobleman, whose broad and liberal views and wide sympathies with the people of the country have been the foundation of the prosperity of the most advanced of the provinces of India, at once turned his attention to the question of land revenue and proposed a permanent settlement. Mr. Shore, who was considered at that time to be the best revenue authority in Bengal, opposed this proposal on the ground that that would lead to a considerable and an useless sacrifice of the revenue, and that it was neither politic nor necessary, in the existing state of information, to conclude a settlement of land revenue in perpetuity. He admitted that the measure would eminently conduce to the prosperity of the province from improved cultivation and the security of proprietary right it would certainly bring. Lord Cornwallis, however, held that no other means existed for improving the prosperity of the country but the limitation in perpetuity of the Government demand upon land. He dwelt on the well-known theory of political economy which has been tested by practical experience that the feeling of property turns sand into gold. He showed what a contrast the Zemindars would feel from the insecurity under the Mahomedan Government to the peace and security under British rule and how they would be stimulated to use their utmost exertions and do all in their power for turning the province into a garden. He pointed out that the Government need not be a sufferer to a considerable extent by this arrangement, as by the increased prosperity of the province the Government would be a gainer, even from a fiscal point of view, from a hundred different sources. The Governor-General, at the same time, insisted upon an effective code of Regulations being drawn up for protecting the raiyats against the exactions of the

Zemindars. The Court of Directors sanctioned Lord Cornwallis's proposal and the Permanent Settlement of 1793 was concluded. There is a good deal of controversy as to the exact effect of the Permanent Settlement, and it has been carried on with vigor and animation even in our days. But while the Permanent Settlement Regulations declare the rights of the Zemindars, the language of trust and expectation is used with reference to the relative rights of the raiyats. The Regulations expect that the Zemindars would extend to all their subordinate tenure-holders and tenants the same security of property which they themselves were to enjoy in perpetuity. When the Decennial Settlement was declared permanent by a Proclamation dated the 22nd March 1793, the ruling power expressly reserved the right of future interference on behalf of the raiyat. The Directors were at this time clearly cognizant of the uncertain relations that existed between the landlord and the tenant, and of the vague nature of their rights. Both Mr. Francis and Mr. Hastings wanted to adjust these relations before making a Permanent Settlement of the land-revenue. Lord Cornwallis and the Directors sanguinely expected that the noble measure they had enacted would adjust these relations satisfactorily, to the mutual advantage and enlightened self-interest of the parties concerned.

There are two diametrically opposite theories as to the effect of the Permanent Settlement on the relative condition and legal status of the Zemindar and the raiyat. The effect of the Permanent Settlement too, as regards vesting of the absolute proprietary right in the Zemindars, has been keenly discussed in later times from the most diverging standpoints. The first school say that the British Government had committed a great and sad mistake in vesting the sovereign's inherent right of property in the soil in a mere set of tax-gatherers whose appointments had been hereditary only according to the custom of the country. The other school urge with equal earnestness and vehemence that the Zemindars were the absolute proprietors of the land during the latter and decaying days of Moslem rule, and that their appointment Sanads were mere matters of form as they contained no onerous conditions whatever. The *nasrana* that was regularly levied on the succession of a deceased Zemindar by his son is explained as having no bearing whatever on the successor's legal status and was a mere means of extortion at convenient opportunity at the will of the sovereign. The security that was taken from the Zemindars for their personal appearance before the ruling chief when called upon is equally explained away as a matter of urgent necessity

in unsettled times when a sovereign should have at his control a very effective instrument for enforcing personal attendance whenever he thought proper. These diametrically opposite views with reference to the origin and the status of the Bengal Zemindars led some eminent authorities regret in unmeasured terms the mistake that the Government had committed in raising the status of a body of men, however estimable in themselves, who had no right whatever to the same; while other authorities equally well-versed in the land-laws of Bengal have spoken of the Permanent Settlement in terms which find their culminating expression in the well-known minute of the Marquis of Hastings who pronounced the Regulations of 1793, as the noblest and the most beneficent act of England's statesmanship in the East. That eminent historian of the early days of the British Empire in the East, James Mill, summarizes in a few sentences the effect of the Permanent Settlement on the relative condition of the Zemindars and the raiyats. His opinion, which is all the more valuable as it coincided with the matured opinion of that well-known financier and scholar Sir Edward Colebrooke, is to the effect that Lord Cornwallis' Regulations had failed to bring about a satisfactory settlement of the relative status of Zemindars and ryots. In the early days of the Permanent Settlement the competition was not among the raiyats to obtain land, but among the Zemindars to obtain raiyats. In later times this state of things was radically changed. A Zemindar as constituted by the Permanent Settlement had some incidents which have thus been summed up by Mr. Harrington, a high Revenue authority. "A landholder, possessing a Zemindari estate which is heritable and transferable by sale, gift or bequest, subject under all circumstances to the public assessment fixed upon it, entitled after the payment of such assessment to appropriate any surplus rents and profits which may be lawfully receivable by him from the under-tenants of land in his Zemindari or from the cultivation and improvement of untenanted lands; but subject nevertheless to such rules and restrictions as are already established or may hereafter be enacted by the British Government for securing the rights and privileges of raiyats and other under-tenants, of whatever denomination in their respective tenures and for protecting them against undue exaction or oppression." The 52nd Section of the Permanent Settlement Regulation provided that "the Zemindar or the proprietor of land is to let the remaining lands of his Zemindari or estate under the prescribed restrictions in whatever manner he may think proper, but every engagement contracted with under-

farmers shall be specific as to the amount and the conditions of it, and all sums received by any actual proprietor of land or any farmer of land of whatever description over and above what is specified in the engagements of the persons paying the same shall be considered as extorted and must be repaid with penalty double the amount." The Government, it would appear from the above provisions, did not want that the raiyats should be subjected to indefinite demands and harassed with all sorts of oppressions, but it was their object that the demand upon them should in all cases be certain. But it would be observed that the Government deliberately abstained from the task of defining the rights of the raiyats or from the more difficult task of ascertaining the amount of rent payable by them. The Government sanguinely expected that in India there were certain well-defined customs and that the rents would be fixed not by a reference to the English standard of the surplus above the profits of stock and the wages of labour but by those customary rates which prevail everywhere and which, in a conservative country like India, exert full force. But other high authorities asserted that the Government was under a great delusion in thinking so, that contracts between parties where the one has an inherent superiority over the other, never adjust themselves to the mutual advantage of the parties, that no well-settled and customary rates of rent prevailed anywhere, that the Government had thrown the raiyats absolutely at the mercy of the Zemindars. The liability of the Zemindars to discharge the payment of the Government revenue was in all cases fixed, and in the course of the first thirty years from 1793 one-third, and according to other accounts, fully one-half, of the revenue-paying estates changed hands. The Regulations provided that the pattas to be granted to the raiyats would always be for a term not exceeding ten years. Under the system of land-revenue introduced by the Permanent Settlement the cultivation of the country rapidly increased and the competition among the raiyats for land became keen. The history of the land problem in Bengal from this time forward to 1859 when the Government of the day first interfered under the Reservation clause of the Regulations of 1793, is a continuation of the struggles between Zemindars and the raiyats to extract as much and to pay as little as possible. The Regulations had been framed with the most laudable intentions, but like most enactments of the Indian Legislature that are perfect in theory and look exceedingly well on paper, they grievously failed in actual practice. That eminent Judge of the Calcutta High Court, Mr. Justice Charles Field, whose writings on

this subject are really delightful and instinct with sympathy with the lower orders of the people, the actual tillers of the soil, holds that the Patta Regulations failed grievously and did not afford the slightest protection to the raiyat. The Government provided the granting of pattas at fixed and consolidated rates and forbade the imposition of any *abwabs* or cesses whatever. The Zemindars, who were frequently absentee or indolent landlords, sublet their lands often to the fourth degree under the system so well-known in Bengal as the *Patni* tenure which left the raiyat to be rack-rented by four successive persons each of whom would keep a part of the collections. The raiyat would be tendered pattas at exorbitant rates which he would probably refuse to accept, and as the Regulations provided that the hanging-up of these pattas at the principal cutcherry of the Zemindar and a notice to him were sufficient legal tender and sufficient legal notice, the Zemindars would often resort to this course. For a time it was doubted whether the Permanent Settlement had not absolutely fixed-for-ever the dues of the tenants, and whether the Zemindars had any right under them to enhance rents at all. This view derived support from the argument that when the Decennial Settlement was concluded, which was afterwards made permanent, it was an essential condition that the rights of the raiyats should also be fixed and made permanent, and as this provision had not been repeated in so many words by the Permanent Settlement Regulations it was still valid and binding. This matter formed the subject of a lengthy discussion between the Government of India and the Court of Directors, and it was settled by the concurrent opinion of the Court of Directors and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council that the Zemindar had the right to enhance rents. When pattas were once tendered the raiyats had either to accept them or to contest the rates there given in the newly-created Civil Courts. The reader might consider this condition to be very fair, but no one who has any idea of the working of the Civil Courts of the country during the last years of the last century, would at all think so. We have a very vivid and almost graphic description of the state of the Civil Courts of Bengal at the close of the last century from Sir William Hunter in his well-known book, the first effort of his delightful pen, the *Annals of Rural Bengal*. Law's delay is proverbial, but Sir William proves from statistics that in the then district of Birbhum which now comprises the districts of Birbhum and Bankura, the Civil Courts did not decide annually even a tenth of the cases that were instituted, and the harassments and annoyances were endless. When we add to this the circumstance that the

institution of a case that was lost in the end and the unnecessary summoning of Zemindars and their agents were prohibited by heavy penalties and that in those days the judiciary of the land was mostly corrupt and inclined to side with the more powerful party on payment of a consideration, one would understand how absolutely hopeless the condition was of the poor ryots. The Zemindars were to facilitate the punctual payment of the Government revenue, armed with the power of distraint under the *Huftum* or the Seventh Regulation of 1799. The *Huftum* provided that where the revenue was payable on a fixed day, no notice even was necessary, and everything belonging to the raiyat could be taken away and sold for the payment of the rent unless the ryot either paid the amount alleged to be due before the day of sale or gave securities for the institution of a suit within a fixed time to contest the Zemindar's claim. The Civil Court in those days did not afford one-tenth of the degree of security that it does now, and the provision, though it looks perfect on paper, was almost useless in actual practice. Sometimes, when the Zemindars were not on good terms with each other, the raiyat would be forced to pay the rent over several times. At other times when exorbitant rates were demanded of him and he demurred to make the payment, duress, illegal confinement and great personal violence, would seem to have been used, and the courts of justice afforded almost no redress worth the name. The process of rack-renting and appropriating the unearned increment of the soil continued in full force. Thus it would appear that the powers of distraint which the law had liberally provided the Zemindars with were used for exacting oppressive rents, and the raiyats' rights not having been declared by the Legislature and not having been referred to as limited to a fixed and ascertainable share of the produce of the soil, the most mischievous consequences ensued. It would appear that the Government of Lord Cornwallis abolished the offices of Kanungoes and Patwaris under the mistaken theory and the sanguine expectation that their necessities would lead them to make a satisfactory mutual adjustment, and the destruction of their records and the abolition of their offices, made the raiyats lose the only proofs of their rights which they had and they were consequently unable to assert their legal status. The published correspondence of Mr. Colebrooke, and the minutes of Lord Moira and other members of the Supreme Government of India, show that they had assumed two things which had no existence in fact, *vis.*, that there were settled rates for each *parganna* by immemorial custom and that amicable adjustment was always practi-

cable. The principle of the Revenue Sale Law, which avoided all leases, pattas, and incumbrances upon a sale taking place, on the ground that the first charge on the land is the amount of revenue assessed on it, was one of the safeguards introduced to facilitate the collection of the Government revenue, while the other provision that no lease extended to more than ten years also tended to secure the same rates. The assumption that there were clearly-ascertained rates of rent for each Perganna long continued to rule the Indian official mind, and the Legislature evidently meant that these rates would be fixed by the Civil Courts while the Civil Courts did not undertake the responsibility as it was not clearly thrown on them. The *Punchum* or the Fifth Regulation of 1812 was intended to remedy this state of things. It declared the Zemindars legally capable of granting leases for any term and in any form but it adhered to the previous prohibition for an indefinite number of cesses. It validated the *Pathi* tenure and the sub-letting system, which had their origin in the extensive estates of the Maharaja of Burdwan and had thence widely extended. It declared that on the purchase of a tenure by a new-comer, the tenants were not liable for enhanced rent except on agreement or after notice and it amended the more stringent provisions of the law of distraint. It validated also all permanent leases that were granted prior to the year 1812. The system of sub-letting to middlemen, the absence of fixed causes of enhancement, the frequent revenue sales, and the corruption and the dilatoriness of the Civil Courts, caused the greatest amount of hardship and misery to the rural population and the *Punchum* did not afford any appreciable relief.

SATYA CHANDRA MOOKERJI.

## A PREPARATION FOR NATURE-STUDY AFTER WORDSWORTH.

Wordsworth had the vates element in him. He was a prophet to his generation. The true poet cannot help being a prophet; his poetic faculty consists in being that. He scorns to come under that strange definition of poetry, so much in fashion now-a-days, that a poet is only an agreeable companion with whom to while away one's idle hours,—a purveyor of delights only of a slightly higher order than what is afforded by dinner-parties, buffoons, circus-clowns, and the painted and powered actors of a theatrical company. This the true poet holds in abomination. His mission is to inspire and instruct; or, rather, let us say, he *cares* not to inspire and instruct, but he has seen strange sights and heard strange voices; his seeing eye has penetrated behind the husk of phenomena and communed with the everlasting realities, wherein alone is peace; his heart is throbbing with the sacred fire of inspiration, and he has, besides, the gift of melodious utterance that can carry his audience along with him so that, lifted up in spirit, they too have glimpses of the things he has seen, whispers of the voices he has heard. The merest balled-minstrel has this voice and this utterance, otherwise how can he be true? Far more the true Poet "skilled to sing of Time and Eternity." The *open* secret of the Universe, "open," says Carlyle, "to all, seen almost by none,"—"the divine Mystery" which lies in all things—has been seen as daylight by him; and, therefore, men look up to him for inspiration, instruction, and guidance. It was high honour for Wordsworth, "who uttered nothing base," that he belonged to this company.

And what are the things that Wordsworth sings of? He himself tells us:

"On Man, on Nature, and on Human life;" more particularly, his was the mission to point out the influences, chastening and subduing, which the mind of man derives from external Nature. And in this matter he occupies a unique position. Myers compares his *Fintern Abbey* to the sermon on the Mount, opening up



a new world of life and light and blessedness. His influence has been great upon his age, his strange inspiration has blessed many; his voice, expressive of deep unalloyed peace and rest, has soothed many. Shelly may have, here and there, given a more melodious utterance to a truth of Nature than he; Browning's analysis of human character is certainly deeper than his; Carlyle and Emerson have had truer notions and feelings about the "Over-soul" and the Life of things than he; yet it may safely be questioned if, in England, with the exception of Carlyle, any inspiring influence has been greater than his.

Before considering this new view of things—so far as any thing can be called *new*, for Wordsworth, too, was the child of his age, his mind was liberalised by that awful French Revolution, that breaking of the idols in high places, and bringing-in together of the high and the low in their naked, natural, sans-culotte character to find them both creatures of the same day; his mind was liberalised also by that Believer's protest heard in Germany and in fainter voices elsewhere against the after-dinner scepticism of Hume and the absentee-god Deism of the 18th century Christians,—before considering this new view, it would be proper to note the features of a spirit diametrically opposed to Wordsworth. Before the conversion of Peter Bell, Wordsworth says that

"A primrose by the River's brim  
A yellow primrose was to him,  
And it was nothing more;"

and in truth, to a mind steeped in wordliness, having scarcely a glimpse of transcendent realities, beautiful or sublime natural objects stand as symbols of so much physical pleasure or physical pain. The rolling clouds, spread above, remind him of an umbrella and possible shelter near at hand; the far-away solitude of the woods and the sombre majesty of Night-darkness remind him of robbers or other night-fears; the carolling of the bird is so much sensuous pleasure; the primrose so much ditto; and green fields have only an agricultural interest. From these persons Wordsworth turned away and one can understand that his feelings towards them were what before had been the case with Dante.

"Let us not speak of them, but look and pass."

To him

"The nearest flower that blows could give  
Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears."

What were these thoughts and what was "the something more" in natural objects, which with his poetic vision seeing and with

his poetic gift of utterance expressing, he made it possible for others to see after him?

But even in the delineation of this "something more" one finds a broad difference. There are poets and poets. There are your sentimental poets who in Nature see but the reflection of their own passionate moods. If they are pleased, no matter how unworthy the pleasure may be, nothing contents them but that whole Nature be pleased with them. If they have pain, no matter how deserving of the pain they may be, they call upon whole Nature to mourn with them, and, if Nature declines to be thus honoured, call her unsympathetic, hard-hearted, cruel, or in the wild winds and waves take a Byronic delight in tracing the features and lineaments of their own restless souls. Otherwise they are profuse in bestowing gratuitous pity upon what appears to them as the unfortunate aspects of Nature. The clouds are sometimes "angry" to them, the fountains full of derisive laughter, moonlight pale with disappointed love or other hidden sorrow, a stem-broken flower lying on the grass "poor little flower" and so forth. Thus they go on imputing human weaknesses and passions to great Nature, looking upon her objects as their playthings to be fashioned or *mis*-fashioned according to the needs of their emotional life. Alas! they have no glimpses of the higher truth; they suspect not that the great Reality of Nature is an august Reality, not to be trifled with, neither to be put aside, nor to be imputed human weaknesses to, but spread before them in all its majesty and splendour, a thing *not* in need of being fashioned by them but which is to fashion and form, chasten and subdue, elevate and react upon *their* own characters. May we not say that the impiety of these sentimental poets is of the same colour as the irreverence of the old physicists who sat not in wonder-stricken discipleship at the feet of Nature but first formed a conception of their own and then tried to cripple the facts of Nature so as to suit them to their theories? Doubtless, if the feelings be worthy feelings, if the pleasure be a right sort of pleasure and the pain a deep-seated pain, this emotional transfiguration of natural objects becomes a high order of poetic art. And Milton by the bier of Lycidas\*, Shelly with his

\* These, Shepherd, these the woods and desert caves  
With wilde thyme and the gadding vine o'ergrown  
And all the echoes mourn.

He ask'd the waves, and ask'd the fellon winds  
What hard mishap hath doom'd the gentle swain?

passionate outcry at the premature death of Adonais,\* Spenser adjuring the Thames to run softly till he ended his bridal song, are figures not to be looked upon with contempt. Far from it! Still it would have been better had Milton not brought in sage Hippotades to excuse his conduct in drowning the king, if Shelly had thought that under the eternal azure with its ever-recurring procession of the seasons the Great work and the Mean have often impeded their work and after a time the Great and the Mean have alike turned into dust. Yet the seasons move on and the everlasting law of God metes out to the noble and the ignoble their respective rewards even in this world: the greatness of the great perishes not, and whatsoever irritation they felt owing to the impediments is due no less to their own weakness than to the wickedness of others. Spenser too should have seen that the Thames had holier, pleasanter business to attend to than stay her motion for listening to his marriage-songs. This imputing of human weaknesses has been well termed by Ruskin "the pathetic (or sentimental) fallacy" and few are the poets that have escaped its taint. Not even Wordsworth, though his general tone is something other than this.

Let us here note that there is another and far deeper relation between Man and Nature—a relation which affords the basis for the illustrative use of natural objects. This illustrative use may again be of many kinds. A poet might be describing some natural object and bringing in similitudes from other objects to give greater precision and delicacy to his description. Or, he might be describing some mental thing, and because his keen penetrative imagination can well detect resemblances between mental things and natural objects, he might use the latter for the purpose of bringing out his idea to a fuller relief and clearer expression. There is a deeper way than these. The Poet may have so keenly perceived the essential unity of the heart of Humanity and the heart of Nature that, while he is apparently describing some natural phenomenon, each of his words is suggestive of the deeper moral and spiritual relations of human life. Of this latter, we may have occasion to speak later on. In Wordsworth we find ample examples of this illustrative use.

Now, we have seen that Wordsworth could not fashion Nature according to his caprice, but stood spell-bound with awe and fascina-

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\* Grief made the young spring wild and she threw down  
Her kindling buds, as if she Autumn were,  
Or they dead leaves; since her delight is flown,  
For whom should she have waked the sullen year?

tion before that sacred reality. What was that which Wordsworth saw? How did he approach Nature?

Let it frankly be acknowledged that Wordsworth's poetic genius attached itself to a firm unwavering religious faith. God Omniscient knows if some poets have faith or not, what their inner religiousness may be, their faiths appear as weak as water, many-glancing as the colours of a chameleon's skin. But Wordsworth's faith was deep. He saw the procession of phenomena in Nature, but beyond, behind, in and through the phenomena he saw the pulsation of a life, "a motion and a spirit that rolls through all things"—the living active spirit of God. Scientists who have lost the freshness of feeling arrange Nature into laws, give to beautiful objects names hard to pronounce and forget the great God behind them\* But Wordsworth saw Him, saw Him in his terrible Majesty, saw Him in his ineffable Beauty as these are mirrored in and realised through the objects of Nature. Is this Pantheism? Yes, but something greater, for Pantheism looks upon the things of this world as illusion or *Maya*, but to Wordsworth they are real expressing the reality of God. Is this Polytheism, the Greek worship of Nymphs and Nereids and Ocean graces? Yes again, but something greater still, for the hierarchy of the Polytheistic gods has been supplanted by the living spirit of one God,—one only "whose light is in the setting sun, in the round ocean, and the mind of man." This God Wordsworth worshipped and this belief informed his poems.

Now, the philosopher and the priest too see those things, but the poet is a distinct being from them. Nature is studied in its generality by the philosopher and to his reason all objects equally reveal the spirit of God. The priest, again, relates his mission more particularly to the culture and discipline, in its manifold varieties, of the human heart. The poet, on the other hand, feels by the law of his perception of the beautiful and the sublime, that, though to his reason all are equally full of God, to the æsthetic feeling all are not so, but some reveal a greater portion of the

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\* "Physician art thou? One, all eyes,  
Philosopher! a fingering slave,  
One that would peep and botanise  
Upon his mother's grave."

† I mean the unreflective mind is led spontaneously to think of God by some objects more than by others, while poetic excellence consists in this that the poet sees beauty, &c., in things where you and I would suspect nothing. Yet this poetic vision admits of culture, and may we not think of the time when, from the stars overhead down to the dust crystals beneath our feet, everything shall be set a-vibrating to the twinkling star-light, the now hiding, now appearing beauty of God, if all objects be not flooded over with the sunlight-purity of the trust, the best, and the most beautiful?

irrepressible majesty and beauty of God than others. The former form his subjects and he adjusts his relations to them.

Wherein consists the majesty of natural objects? Precisely in this that they raise in the mind the sense of infinity, of something far above man's control and comprehension which controlleth him. Conceive the mysterious tree-life, the appearance of clouds and the heavens being rolled up in them, conceive dawn-light brightening silently, imperceptibly, but still brightening into daylight, think of the mountains in their ever-during character, the torrent leaping from crag to crag and hiding its waters in the unfathomable abysses: really, the human heart perceives a power, stupendous, august, terrible, purifying by the terror and awe it inspires: Wordsworth revelled in these feelings; they to him were an appetite; he bounded over the mountains and by the side of deep rivers on lonely streams.

"The sounding cataract

Haunted me like a passion; the tall rock,  
The mountain, and the deep and gloomy wood,  
Their colours and their forms, were then to me  
An appetite; a feeling and a love,  
That had no need of a remoter charm,  
By thought supplied, or any interest  
Unborrowed from the eye."

And in this way, losing his self in a sense of awe which torrent-wise rushed upon his mind from many sides, did Wordsworth worship the sublimity of Nature and we should note that the *first* influences of nature upon the Wanderer's mind consist precisely of these feelings.

But Nature is not simply terrible, Nature is beautiful. The Wanderer felt awe but did he not *love* Nature too? In that ecstatic delight, where "sound needed none nor voice of utterance," was he not charmed, spell-bound, fascinated? What is the beauty of natural things? Alas, who can see the beauty of nature, which is the beauty of God, except "the pure in heart"—whose heart is pure and spotless and beautiful as a lily? Imperfectly let us say that the beauty of Nature is the "half-revealed, half-concealed" beauty of Divine character. Ruskin has analysed this beauty which he calls "typical beauty" into Infinity, Unity, Repose, Symmetry, Purity and Moderation, respectively, discovered as the types or symbols of Divine incomprehensibility, Comprehensiveness, Permanence, Justice, Energy and Government by Law. We must refer the reader to Ruskin himself in order to understand the

meaning of these words,—more, to *feel* their intrinsic truth ; here it concerns us that these things which Ruskin has with scientific accuracy pointed out were perceived synthetically by the penetrative imagination of Wordsworth.

Nature, thus studied, has an intimate relation to the moral being of man ; in a two-fold way : 1st, there is seen a contrast between the sick, weary, peaceless, passion-disturbed life of man and the quiet life of Nature ; andly, there are furnished from Nature (on the basis of resemblance) ideals for the moral character of man. We will briefly illustrate these.\*

I. (a) The first thing one is struck with in Nature is its quietness. "Day unto day uttereth speech, night unto night sheweth knowledge," but all so quiet, filled with such a sense of repose. "Without haste but without rest," said Goethe of the stars, and why of the stars ? Why not of everything in the bright heavens and the green Earth ? The Rev. Stopford Brooke observes, "Nature's life is a peace, for her children never wage a foolish strife with her ; nor does self enter their hearts to make them weary of life. Deep calm is at her heart, the mountains rest in their own peace, the stars shine quietly, the sun 'sinketh down in its tranquillity,' the flowers keep a still silence, and though there are storms which drive the clouds in passionate course and torrents which rend the earth and strong forces which sweep to and fro the elements in bewildering and endless motion, yet in the highest region of thoughts in which these things are seen in their relation to the great whole, there is

Central peace subsisting at the heart  
Of endless agitation."

Doth Nature, O incurably dandified sons of men that in a goose-way cackle about their virtues, complacently look upon their own selves perpetually in a mirror and "solicit a glance of eyes of their brother-men," doth Nature do these things ? Let us dash our mirrors to pieces, let us hide our faces and contemplate the still reposeful life of Nature,

"Of toil unsever'd from tranquillity ;  
Of labour that in lasting fruit outgrows  
Far noisier schemes, accomplish'd in repose,  
Too great for haste, too high for rivalry."

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\* We follow the analysis of the Rev. Stopford Brooke in his "Theology in the British Poets"—an invaluable book.

(b) This leads us to consider the deep still life of Nature ("still waters run deepest," they say) as a life of enjoyment. Every motion appeared to Wordsworth as a "thrill of pleasure."

(c) Contemplate the love which is in every natural object for every other. Each enters into relations with the others, the beauty of love and harmonious action pervades all. Alas, that what exists in Nature is not to be seen in the communities of men also!

"Love now an universal birth,  
From heart to heart is stealing  
From earth to man, from man to earth;  
—It is the hour of feeling."

(d) Let us note the sympathy of Nature. This is a deep truth that Wordsworth gave utterance to. This is not the make-believe of sympathy so much dwelt on by sentimental poets; this is *real* sympathy.

"The broad open eye of the solitary sky"

broods over the sick troubles of human life, sternly, pityingly.

"The silence that is in the starry sky,  
The sleep that is among the lonely hills"

contemplate him. The brooding eye of Nature is but the stern, the pitiful eye of God, which whoso has seen, has his character chastened, modelled, purified by.

In the exquisitely beautiful poem, *The Education of Nature*, Nature said referring to decay,—

"Myself will to my darling be  
Both law and impulse; and with me  
The girl, in rock and plain,  
In earth and heaven, in glade and bower,  
Shall feel an over-seeing power  
To kindle and restrain."

II. Apart from these general moral impulses, particular objects furnish the mind with separate ideals. The skylark of Wordsworth reminded him of being true to the kindred points of Heaven and Home. And latterly, when years had "brought in the philosophic mind" and he had listened to "the still sad music

of humanity," natural objects continually suggested to the mind of Wordsworth ideals of this kind.

"One impulse from the vernal wood  
May teach you more of man,  
Of moral evil and of good,  
Than all the sages can."

And the perception of the beauty of natural objects, makes the ideals they transmit to the mind ten-fold more impressive.

We cannot conclude better than by quoting

"And I have felt  
A presence that disturbs me with the joy  
Of elevated thoughts: a sense sublime  
Of something far more deeply interfused,  
Where dwelling is the light of setting scenes,  
And the round ocean and the living air,  
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man:  
A motion and a spirit, that impels  
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,  
And rolls through all things. Therefore, am I still  
A lover of the meadows and the woods,  
And mountains; and of all that we behold  
From this green earth; of all the mighty world  
Of eye and ear, both what they half create,  
And what perceive, well pleased to recognise  
In nature and the language of the sense,  
The anchor of my purest thoughts, the nurse,  
The guide, the guardian of my heart, and soul  
Of all my moral being."

MOHIT CHANDRA SEN.



## NOTES FROM THE CALCUTTA ZOO.

## I.

About a year ago the *Saturday Review* (London) used to publish, from time to time, under the heading of "Notes from the Zoo," a series of short articles on new or rare animals that were introduced into the London Zoological Gardens for the first time. Following the same precedent, I intend to publish, from time to time, in the pages of the *National Magazine*, a series of short notes, whereof the first instalment is this paper, on the rare or little-known animals that are exhibited in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens, or on animals that will be introduced to the said Gardens for the first time and prove new to the Calcutta public.

On a visit to the Gardens on Monday, the 14th November 1892, the animals which appeared to me to be new to the collection and noteworthy in their way are a pair of the Greater Birds of Paradise (*Paradisaea apoda*. Linn.) which are at present exhibited in the central cages of the Murshidabad House. It is simply impossible to convey an idea of these magnificent birds to lay readers without the aid of pictorial illustrations. It is doubtful whether there are any other birds in the entire collection more superb and graceful than the specimens in question. I give the following descriptions of the birds from a personal inspection of them, having had no work on Natural History by me at the time to refer to:

Size:—a little larger than ordinary-sized pigeons; both mandibles black and slightly curved at the tip; a patch surrounding the base of the mandibles glossy velvet black; chin and neck bottle-green colour having a brilliant metallic lustre; lores, crown of the head, back and wings of a deep rich chocolate color; breast and abdomen white; from near the under tail-courts springs a mass of fine feathers of a beautiful golden yellow color; the upper tail-courts are long and drooping and are broken into fine filaments giving the bird a beautiful appearance; while two long loose plumes spring from the rumps of the birds and become curved at the middle.

The notes of the birds are clear and metallic, rising from a sharp shrill *ahau* to a loud crescendo. They are uttered in quick succession. As the two birds are kept in separate cages, if the one utters these cries, the other follows. These birds are natives of the Indian Archipelago, especially the Aroo and the Molucca Islands. Of the two specimens now in the Calcutta collection, one was purchased for the Calcutta Gardens through the liberality of the Maharajah of Dumraon, about two years ago; while the second specimen was procured by purchase only in 1891.

The birds, in their wild state, are said to feed on nutmegs and other fruits, but, in the Calcutta Zoo, they are supplied with slices of ripe papaw (*Carica papaya*) whereon they feed.

In the countries where these birds are found, the feathers are in great request as ornaments of head-gear for both men and women. Now these are exported in large quantities to Europe for being made up into ornaments for ladies' bonnets. In their native haunts, the birds are said to be very shy, and the natives shoot them with arrows by climbing the trees and concealing themselves from the view of the birds behind screens of green branches and foliage. It was popularly believed that these birds lived in the skies and never alighted on the earth. They were supposed to be legless and, with a view to lend color to this belief, the natives brought the dead birds after having cut off their legs. Hence Linnæus gave the birds the specific name *apoda* or *legless*. The vulgar appellation of birds of Paradise was applied to them in reference to the tradition of their always living in the skies.

Among the monkeys exhibited in the Gubboy House are three species which are entirely new to the collection. Of these three, one belongs to the Indo-Malayan fauna and the other two are peculiar to the Ethiopian region. Of the former, there is a pair, labelled "White-bellied Semnote (*Semnopithecus siamensis*.) Hab. Siam and Sumatra." These belong to the group of monkeys classed under the genus *Semnopithecus* and which are popularly known as Leaf-eating Monkeys—a name derived from their weakness for leaves of trees as articles of diet. The most distinguishing feature of these White-bellied Semnotes now in the collection is their almost pure white breast and abdomen. In other respects they resemble the Assam langur (*S. ~~affinis~~*) barring their black caps.

The last-mentioned species are African Forms and are labelled as coming from Western Africa. Only one specimen occurs of each of these two species, viz., one of the White-collared

Mangabey (*Cercocebus collaris*) and another of the Sooty Mangabey (*Cercocebus fuliginosus*.) The White-colored Mangabey appears to be an adult and is altogether a very fine specimen. Its well-knit frame indicates the power of its muscles. It is of a uniform black color—only the throat and the cheeks being of a pure white color—a peculiarity from which its specific name *collaris* is derived. The Sooty Mangabey is much smaller in dimensions than the above and its limbs are not so powerful as those of the above. Its color is black having a purplish tinge—giving it the appearance of having been begrimed with smoke and soot. It is a very lively animal and is always expectant of any present of plantain or other fruits which generous visitors give it. The White-colored species is, on the other hand, not so lively—always sitting sulkily at the top of its cage. These last two species are allied to African monkeys of the genus *Cercopithecus*, from which the former differ only by reason of some differences in the structure of the frame. The Mangabeys are exhibited in the western wall cage of the Gubboy House.

Among other animals recently added to the Alipore collection, are some species of rodents or gnawing animals, which are being exhibited in the Calcutta Gardens for the first time—they having been acquired only in June last. These include a pair, respectively, of the Patagonian Cavy (*Dolichotis patagonica*;) Golden Agouti (*Dasyprocta aguti*) and Crested Agouti (*D. cristata*). The Agoutis resemble the hare and the rabbit in form, only the hinder parts of the former are more rounded. The Golden and the Crested species resemble in all other respects their congeners the *Dasyprocta prymnolopha* and *D. isthmica* which have been exhibited in the Gardens from before. In the darkness of its den, the Golden Agouti presents no distinguishing features. But when it moves about and its sides are exposed to strong light, the fur of its hinder parts become tinged with a bright golden color—a fact from which its popular name is derived. On a superficial inspection I could not discover any crest on the head of the *D. cristata*. But on a closer view I discovered that some of the hairs of its head are longer than those of its congeners.

The Patagonian Cavy (*Dolichotis patagonica*) is allied to the Agoutis. It is considerably larger and more elegant than the others. The only distinguishing feature, beside the largeness of size, between the Agoutis and the Patagonian Cavy is the larger ears of the latter—from which its generic name *Dolichotis* is derived. Unlike most other burrowing animals, it is said to wander in companies of two or three for several miles or leagues away

from its home. It is of diurnal habits, feeding and roaming about by day; and is shy and watchful. It produces generally two young ones at a birth.

\* These rodents are exhibited in the new Rodent House which has been fitted out of the old Restaurant near the Entrance Lodge. The *Dasyprocta aguti* and *D. cristata* are confined in the western series of cages, while the *Dotishotis patachonica* are placed in the north-eastern cage. So much for this paper.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

### A LIVING GHOST.

It was a sultry August evening. The sun had ripened the paddy in the fields around. The sickle of the labourer would soon transform their mellow verdure into repelling dry straw. The meandering little *Madhumati* babbled by my verandah. A crescent moon shed subdued effulgence on Nature below, reposing in deep sleep. My incorrigible Punkha-bearer had given me a lot of trouble. He would sleep at my cost. Threats, admonitions, and finally entreaties, were alike unsuccessful to bring him to the sense of responsibility he lacked. I must wait till the morrow, thought I, and get another man. But in the meantime how could life be borne under a temperature of more than a hundred Ft. in the bed room? I slipped into the verandah, and sank into my darling cane lounge. The unhappy mortal whose lot is cast in the swampy rice fields of the lower Gangetic plateau finds all the solace he can from this lounge, from books, and from the great book of Nature. I heard the clock strike eleven. Sleep was for a time impossible. I surveyed slumbering Nature. The muddy water of the *Madhumati* rolled on in its uninterrupted course. On it played the crescent moon imparting a lovely lustre to the little waves. As I sat musing, time stole on and the bewitching hour of midnight gradually drew my thoughts from the dull desolation of the scene to its Maker. The great Unknowable, the great First Cause, Eternity, and similar things came rapidly to my mind. My imagination had recently been rendered somewhat vulnerable to the attacks of occultism and spiritualism by successive perusals of many weird books, among others, Rider Haggard's "She," Anstey's, "Fallen Idol" and some odds and ends of undefined Theosophy. It is no wonder that on that eventful night my mind should be anxiously seeking for a proof of the many latent powers which, it is said, it possesses. I must have sat, musing for about an hour, for I faintly remember having heard the bell toll twelve, when curiously enough, my mind all of a sudden left moving in its philosophic groove, and once more turned to things mundane. I don't remember what it was in the panorama stretching before my eyes that brought about this change. Prob-

bly it was a little bit of poetry that I was indulging in. I had imagined the crescent moon to be a young bride budding to bloom, and the black cloud that occasionally hid it, its lover. I said to myself that this husband was so anxious to make the most of his bride's beauty, and so jealous of others beholding it, that he hid her always in his extensive arms. And that now and again he let go his grasp as if loath to tarnish so much beauty with constant touch. Anyhow, my mind tore itself from the black husband and his blooming bride to a lovely face—lovelier far than the proud beauty walking the broad expanse of the heavens—more than a hundred miles away, a face that I had treasured up in the sacred core of the heart of my heart—a face whose lovely image every drop of blood that ran in my veins triumphantly carried. We had not met for some time, nor had we corresponded in the meantime. I had written several times, but never had received any reply. I was unable to account for this strange conduct—but I loved her too deeply to be offended.

That face once having taken possession of me, of course, any other thought was impossible. Like many another lover under similar circumstances, I tried to divine the cause of her silence. Could it be that I was chucked overboard? I shuddered at the thought. "Oh, no, it could not be—love never dies." Thus did hope, the ministering angel of the unhappy, try to comfort me. But to no purpose. I worked up my imagination to such a degree that after a time it seemed as if there was no doubt about it. Methought, I could see her arms around another. I felt as one in a trance. There was a rush of blood into the veins, the head whirled, and the world swam before my eyes. I remember that moment very well. Even now as I write of it, a sort of electric current shakes me from head to foot and makes a description of that memorable hour impossible. I tried to console myself, but consolation would not come. I tried to remember

"Frailty thy name is, woman."

I tried to banish her from my memory as a traitress, but I was equally unsuccessful in this. What mortal has ever been able to cherish and worship an idol to shatter it to pieces? As in the poignancy of my grief I heaved a sigh, a sigh from behind me responded to it. I started and looked in that direction. In the dim light I could only see a human form standing. Half in fright, half in astonishment I jumped down, and good God! what did I see? My bewildered vision rested on the graceful and majestic form of an angel clothed in a lovely dishabille of pink that came

down to her ankles and displayed to mortal eyes only the snow-white arms.

For a moment I stood speechless with wonder. I was bewildered by the sudden appearance of the spectre and my eyes were dazzled by its extraordinary beauty. One moment, and I recognised that it was my own dear Mary but more beautiful than she. I stretched out my arms to hold her to my bosom, but like an aerial being she slipped back, and beckoned to me to be quiet.

"But, Mary, you—how do you—why did you not reply to my letters? Tell me, dear, that you—"

"Don't get impatient—calm yourself—and I shall answer your questions one by one. How I came here?—well, that I do not myself know. Why I did not reply to your letters?—because "papa would not let me. What more do you want to know?" "Papa not let you write to me!" If I were then in my present mood of mind I would have taunted her with being a "puppet to a father's threat," but people do not remember quotations at the turning points of life. I could simply groan out,—

"Why not let you write?—But don't you love me, dear? "Couldn't you write?"

"You know very well I never can disobey my parents, and "you will see shortly that I shall gladly sacrifice my happiness for "them. My father weds me to-morrow to my cousin. But, my "dearest, I have always loved you. I love you still, and will "even "continue to do so even though fate links me to another!"

Jesus! what did I hear? And she who loved me so strongly, so passionately, I was, but a few minutes before, going to give up as faithless! Unable to speak my regrets at having doubted her love, I approached to kneel down before her—but without another word, without even staying to say good-bye, she tripped along like the fairy that she was. I followed her—ran, she ran too, till she came near the river. Before I had time to take the situation, she turned round, kissed her hand to me, and plunged into the river. I shrieked, I called to the servants for help, and then jumped in. With one convulsive effort I strove to catch her raven locks. I remember no more.

## II.

A week had passed. When I regained consciousness I found myself in the hospital at head quarters. The brain fever had then left me. But I was still very weak, and try how much I might, I could not at all recall the events of that evening after dinner. How I was saved from a watery grave I subsequently learned. But it does not form any part of this narrative. After

some more days I was fit enough to walk about, and then gradually dawned on my mind all the events narrated above. I got my discharge from the hospital and came back to my little Arcadia. One morning I took up the heap of newspapers that had accumulated during my absence with a view to keep myself informed of all that had happened during my illness. In one of the papers I met my doom. It came in the shape of an entry in the domestic occurrence column. So, she was another's, and there was no mistake about it. This time I proposed to drown my sorrows in the Lethe of modern civilisation. My bearer placed the welcome bottle before me. And for a time at least, my woes were forgotten.

### III.

Days and months passed on. Time, the great healer of all sores, could in my case only prevent its becoming cancerous. Sometimes I thought of the strange incident of that memorable night—tried to solve it, but in vain. Was it she herself—was it her apparition—was it her dual self? Finally, I gave it up in despair. In the autumn of 189—, I went to Darjeeling. We met one evening on the Mall. She said I must forget the past and be a brother unto her. I promised. I related to her my strange experience. Did she know anything? Oh! yes. She would send me her diary of that day. I got it in due course. She enters on the day following that she had a strange dream the previous night. She narrates everything just as I have done. Trying to escape from me, she plunges into the river and finds herself drowned. She wakes and hopes that the dream may be true, for she wants me to know that she loves me.

Will any of the occultists explain the phenomenon? What will the materialists say? Verily,

There are more things in Heaven and Earth  
Than are dreamt of in your Philosophy,

and laying this precious unction to my soul, I do not bother my head now about it.

RUSTUM PACHA.



## REVIEW.

### *Life and work of Keshub Chunder Sen.*

In every age and clime, from time to time, like meteors large and small, have suddenly appeared and as suddenly vanished, men of note, some of whom leave nothing behind, while others a luminous track more or less dazzling. And thus it is, among philosophers, we have Socrates and Plato, Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas, Des Cartes; and Leibnitz. Among Generals we have Hannibal, Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, Napoleon, and Wellington. Among founders of Religions, we have Jesus Christ and Mahomet, Buddha and Chaitanya, and in our own day, Keshub Chunder Sen. At present, we are only concerned with our late distinguished countryman, whose life has been written by his great disciple, Baboo P. C. Mozoomdar. For proving that the work is popular we need only say that, within eighteen months, two editions have passed through the press, and a third is in course of publication. At this time of day, for us to say that the author has done full justice to his master, both in the method and arrangement of Keshub's life-work, and the language employed to expatiate on the doctrines of the New Dispensation, would be superfluous. Considering what the *Englishman*, the *Indian Daily News*, the *Statesman*, and several other newspapers of note have already said on the subject, we will content ourselves by quoting a few passages from the book under review. But before touching the contents, we will venture to preface them with a few remarks.

In praising Keshub Chunder Sen, we must not be understood to grant to the Theists the sole knowledge and worship of God, and to ourselves merely a polytheism devoid of such knowledge. Did we say or imply as much, the *Vedas* would belie us, and we should be lying witnesses of the Truth. It is true that it is in human nature, as time goes on, gradually to sink into idolatry and barbarism, from which a leader of power and intellect is needed to raise up the fallen and degraded, and to turn their thoughts from things mundane to the throne of the Most High. Such heaven-born leaders have been given to every race and religion by

the Spirit that makes for righteousness. Grace is given all over the earth; there is no place where it is not present in every heart in measure sufficient for its salvation, or at least sufficient for a beginning to attain the end. Hence, however great and good the Brahmo leader might have been, or others of other creeds might be, it follows not that he, or any one of them, is on his way to heaven, to the exclusion of others.

In early life, Keshub Chunder Sen influenced his boyish companions to a life of unselfish ends. When a young man, he forced other young men to a life of enthusiasm and aspiration. He himself tells us, "I am a worshipper of the religion of fire, I am partial to the doctrine of enthusiasm. To me a state of being on fire is the state of salvation." This shows first his earnestness and influence, and next, it is the key to his after-life when his devotions turned to frenzy and displayed themselves in freaks and fancies as erratic as the most pronounced Salvation Army freaks and antics. "He had a boyish fondness for making purchases of objects that took his fancy . . . and the fulfilment of this desire sometimes became rather an eccentric and inconvenient amusement." He wanted a boat and, regardless of expense, he got one and launched it on 'the lake of lilies,' and made more than one voyage across the pond."

"The musical appurtenances of the singing apostle were these, *Khole, Kartal, and Ektara* . . . He not only sang but danced, singing the name of God; a little later on, he laughed and cried in the ecstasy of his devotions; he behaved as one under extreme excitement. He refused to allow his reasoning powers any authority to control his devotional fervour . . . All the excesses of oriental piety, whether found in Palestine or Persia, Egypt or India, [England or America], gradually found their embodiment in him. Men began to laugh at him, but he laughed at them, and said that they did not know what they criticised."

Notwithstanding these eccentricities, his biographer would have us believe that whatever Keshub did, was done by Divine command. "In the smallest matters of daily life, whenever he was in difficulty, he walked by the light of this Adesh (Divine command). In every social reform that he ever undertook, this response to prayer was his only guide. In the management of the Bharat Asram, in every important affair that related to the inmates of that institution, he insisted on the command of God being sought, *an idea which not a few of his friends secretly ridiculed.*" How then did he make such a mistake in the Cooch Behar affair, although "he pleaded (as in everything else) that he had been led,

by the spirit of God, to give his sanction to the marriage of his daughter?" Very justly then, "his enemies, nay, *the whole world grew furious.*" How differently the late Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster treated the matter of preferment, and true to his daily prayer. "One thing have I desired of the Lord that will I seek after; not wealth, rank, power, worldly home, worldly happiness, or any worldly good, but one drop of that holy flame, one drop of that holy fire, to kindle me to set one all on fire with the *love* of my God"—he rejected an Anglican Bishopric for an unpromising future in the Catholic Church.

Shortly before Archdeacon Manning left the establishment, he had been told by a member of the Government for the time being that he was to have the next vacant Bishopric. Not long after his reception into the Catholic Church, the see of Salisbury fell vacant, and a cabinet minister (still living) meeting him, said,—“We should have appointed you;” to which Father Manning made the characteristic remark,—“What an escape my poor soul did have!”

“It cannot, on the other hand, be denied, even by his worst enemies, (that Keshub) combined the tenderest sentimentalities with the highest moral purity, a combination so rarely met with in emotional India. He sternly maintained the standards of traditional Hindu simplicity in food and dress; he always held poverty to be an essential trait in the character of a religious teacher. He held asceticism to be one of the highest and most essential discipline for every devotee. . . . .” We agree with Babu Mozoomdar that “he influenced every section of the great surrounding mass of Hindu society more profoundly than any one thought at the time.” And it is our belief, and the belief of more than ten thousand others, that, but for the mistake made by Keshub in the Cooch Behar marriage, almost the whole of educated Bengal might to-day have been the members of his Somaj. But this was not to be, nay worse, he was to lose what he had gained. By his own act he unmade what with such labour and self-denial he had made and gathered around him. “His real troubles began after the marriage was over . . . . . He could not but feel that even many of his dearest friends were most seriously offended . . . . . the bitterness and violence with which some of his (opponents) assailed Keshub’s motions were simply disgraceful. A large number of protesting Brahmos in Calcutta called for public meetings to expel Keshub from his position as Secretary to the Brahmo Somaj of India, and as minister to the Brahmo Mandir. Then followed riotous demonstrations needless to recount.” When the exercise of violence took place even in the house of worship, and the aid of the Police

had to be called in by one section of the Brahmo brotherhood against another, the matter simply became a scandal that was deplored by all right-thinking men of all parties. Alas, how many scenes of the same kind, but of *greater disgrace*, were concealed in the near future !

The Somaj proved a veritable volcano, which, when it suddenly burst forth into activity, was rent asunder, leaving poor Keshub, and some of his friends on a storm-girt island. And this isolation, those storms and persecutions, were all due to a single blunder, to one false step. Could it then be that he was acting all along without the grace of God ? Undoubtedly not, for, as we have before said, there is no corner, even of Paganism, where Grace is not present. Of course, we do not mean to imply that it is at once sufficient to take one to heaven ; but it is assuredly sufficient to enable us to plead and press for further Grace by endeavouring to lead a pure and holy life, by making ourselves worthy of God's favour. And thus we may be led from favour to favour, and from strength to strength, till we are in the very sight of heaven. But we cannot be sure of the second grace, and still less of the third and fourth, unless we make ourselves worthy of each in turn, the second depending on the first, and the third on the second, and so on, from grace to grace as long as life lasts, " We mount up by steps towards God, and alas ! it is possible that a soul may be courageous and bear up for nineteen steps," with the trials and temptations of the flesh, the world and the devil, " and stop and faint at the twentieth. Nay, further than this, it is possible to conceive a soul going forward till it arrives at the very grace of communion with God—and is clothed in the vestment of *justice*, purity, and wisdom ; and yet, it may yield to the further trials which beset it, and fall away." But, again, though fallen and degraded, removed from grace, and an enemy of God, the soul may yet return to the path whence it had strayed, and to the love and friendship of its Maker. Let us then hope that, in the case of so good a man as Keshub Chunder Sen, whatever his mistake,\* or whatever his sin, he once more found favour with God. Indeed, his last moments encourage this thought, nay more, give us the assurance that as he suffered much here, he is now thrice happy, in the love and eternal presence of his Heavenly Father in those Courts above where there is no sin and no sorrow but eternal joy.

" Broken in heart, despondent in spirit, but with infinite trust and love in the goodness of God, Keshub returned [from Cooch Behar] to Calcutta towards the end of October, 1878. . . . The cruel persecutions which followed him as the immediate result of

the marriage produced a depression of mind . . . so that towards autumn of the same year he fell violently ill. But with careful treatment, river tours, and a suburban change, he soon rallied." During his convalescence, suddenly rising from his lying posture, he expressed to his disciples the need of a great and unprecedented *Revival*, if the Brahmo Somaj was to tide over "the present crisis." In devotions, disciplines, doctrines, and missionary activities, there should be introduced, all along the line, such a spirit of Revival as had never yet been seen." "The light of the New Dispensation," said he, "is vouchsafed by Providence for India's salvation;" and he defined a Dispensation to mean God's saving mercy adapting itself in a special manner to the requirements of special epochs in the world's history . . . . The light of heaven has dawned upon our fatherland. May we labour and pray so that the light may shine brighter and brighter unto the perfect day, and bring joy, and peace, and salvation into the homes of all men in this." Now he meditated to make this Light of Honour the guide in the onward path of his *drooping* Church . . . . He was too intensely conscious of the truth of the remark that no metaphysical would ever answer the religious necessities of the masses of the Indian people."

What must the unrefined millions of Hindus have,—polytheism and idolatry? "No, monotheism certainly, but so simplified, so symbolised, so transformed through processes of imaginative illustration, that the people might naturally feel it akin to their national usages, and modes of faith and worship." If so, we opine that the caricature of Christ's baptism by Keshub in the tank at 72, Upper Circular Road, was at best ill-calculated to this end. But he was sagacious enough to see through it, and, as a palliative, quickly resorted to the *Homa* ceremony of the Hindus; but instead of worshiping the *fire*, he worshipped God in the fire."

His charity was unbounded and he publicly prayed for his enemies and persecutors:—"may the merciful Father vouchsafe unto you His blessing, and promote your temporal and spiritual welfare."

By some inner process, says his biographer, he was convinced that loyalty to the Government ought to be the essential principle of the new religion. In his lecture "Behold the Light of Heaven in India" Keshub is reported to have said:—"Do you not believe that there is a God in history? Do you not recognise the finger of special Providence in the progress of nations? Assuredly the record of British rule in India is not a chapter of profane but of ecclesiastical history. The book which treats of the moral, social,

and religious advancement of our great country with the help of Western science, under the paternal rule of the British nation, is, indeed, a sacred book . . . . Not to be loyal to [England] argues base ingratitude and absence of faith in Providence. You are bound to be loyal to the British Government that came to your rescue, as God's ambassador, when your country was sunk in ignorance and superstition and hopeless jejuneness, and had since lifted you to your present high position. As His chosen instruments, then honour your sovereign and the entire ruling body. The more loyal we are, the more we shall advance in the path of moral, social, and political reformation. The mutual intercourse of England and India, political as well as social, is destined to promote the true interests and lasting glory of both nations."

"For about a month and a half after his return (from Simla, where he had gone for the benefit of his health), he showed some symptoms of improvement, but as the cold weather set in, he grew speedily worse. . . . The complaint that in the midst of the growing debility gained upon him, was a fearful and unaccountable pain about the loins, but every organ seemed more or less diseased and the whole of December was spent in a continuous struggle between life and death." During this sad period of his life, he employed himself in correcting proof-sheets of the Yoga and New Samhita, which were passing through the press at the time; in giving directions about the New Sanctuary which was in the course of construction; and in making plans for a Fancy Bazar to be held on the coming anniversary of the Somaj. Then, only a few weeks before his death, he desired his cousin Babu Joy Krishna Sen to write the history of the Bramho movement, at the close of which a chapter was to be devoted to the shortcomings and failures of the Brahmo missionaries. . . . He wanted that we should become ascetics in spirit. In outward acts and words, there was some strictness, but what he desired to see was, "utter unworldliness of spirit, the absolute conquest of carnality, the perfect purity of thought and idea." . . . He was the truest and noblest result of his own religion. But he could not make these effects real (or as real) in others. The truth is that he attempted too much and expected too much within the space of his short career. In the midst of his sufferings he dwelt much on what to him was the shortcoming of his followers, the pregnable points of his fortress which he had built with such labour and trouble and skill and ingenuity.

In the last week of December it was announced that Keshub was in a critical condition; great, therefore, was the surprise of all who came to witness the consecration ceremony of the New Sanc-

tuary on the 1st January, 1884. He had got himself put on a chair and conveyed to the damp unfinished hall, where, from the marble pulpit, he addressed the Deity: *Namah Sachchidananda Hari*. But this proved to be his last appearance among his devoted flock. The effort and exposure did their work; every symptom was aggravated, and the pain in the loins became insufferable. On Sunday the 6th, his condition becoming worse and the ladies of his household frantic with grief, Keshub was asked to reassure them. "What more have I to say?" he replied; "If I speak at all, I will speak of *Baikuntha* and that will make them cry all the more." Later on he rested his head on his mother's bosom and was heard to say: "Mother, can nothing cure my pain? . . . Mother dear, where can there be another mother like you? . . . Know that the supreme mother sends me all this for my good." Soon after putting his arm round the neck of the singing apostle Troylokya Nath, he said: "Brother, dear brother of my heart, what beautiful songs have you sung to me. I will hear them again, I will hear them again in heaven." Monday then passed, and although the assembled relatives and apostles every moment expected the sufferer's release, the darkness of that long night of terror faded into the indistinct morning twilight. Less on earth, more in heaven, life's last sacrament drew his closing sense. The twilight broke into dawn, the dawn into morning, the last sunshine poured into that crowded chamber of death. The night lamp, still allowed to burn, gave its pale flicker from the side of the bed. The master's spirit still lingered in its well worn earthly habitation. The breathing, however, became fainter and harder, the struggle relaxed every moment, till at 53 minutes past 9, on Tuesday morning, the 8th January, Keshub Chunder Sen breathed his last.

The wife clung to the lifeless feet, bedewed them with tears, and cried out: "I got a divine being for my husband! I knew not, nor recognised thee when thou wast with me! What will become of me now!" Keshub's mother took the lifeless form to her bosom and said, "Child, in thy blessed image I see no man. It is the beauty of Mahadeva!" But Keshub smiled at all this passing sorrow. Bereft of every unreality, he had gone where all tears had for ever been wiped away.—"Rest there, O beloved of many hearts, hope of many causes, rest now in thy glory in the abode of the blessed! Thy cares and sufferings were many; very ill recompensed here. But thou hast built on the everlasting foundations, thou hast shown the light of undying example, thou hast enriched . . . humanity!"

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No. 12.—DECEMBER 1892.

*THE INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF INDIA.*

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE N. W. PROVINCES.—That part of India which is now known as the N. W. Provinces minus the kingdom of Oudh, which continued for a long time under a dynasty of native sovereigns, had passed under the dominion of the East India Company before the year 1803 A. D. It was at first known by the name of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, because part of it, *vis.*, the districts of Benares, Allahabad, Moradabad, Etawah, Bareilly, Furrackabad and Goruckpur, had been ceded by the Nawab Vizier of Oudh in payment of the heavy arrears due from him for the maintenance of a large standing army under various treaties for which he was to have paid a fixed sum annually to the British treasury, and part of it, *vis.*, the districts of Agra, Mutttra, Shaharanpur, Meerut, Muzaffarnagar and Aligarh, had been conquered after a very severe fight between the British power and the powerful Maharatta Chiefs known as Holkar and Scindia on the other. On the East India Company first acquiring these valuable districts, the Central Board of administration was constituted at Furrackabad and consisted of several experienced and tried members of the Civil Service of the Company. Furrackabad continued to be the head-quarters of the Government of those Provinces till 1833, when they were, by the renewed charter of that year, transformed into a Lieutenant-Governorship. The capital was removed to the city of Agra, the once Imperial city of Akbar the great, and the seat of that great wonder and delight of the East

the Tajmahal. The war with the Bhonslay dynasty which ruled in Nagpur and which had been pillaging Bengal through its cavalry ever since the reign of Ali Verdi Khan, was concluded by the treaty of Deogaum the terms of which had been negotiated by the Hon'ble Mounstuart Elphinstone. The tract of land that now forms the British districts of Cuttack, Balasore and Puri, together with those hilly regions that form what are now called the Tributary mahals, and the adjacent parts of the Central Provinces, were ceded in perpetual sovereignty to the East India Company. After the conclusion of the third Maharatta war, the districts of Mundalla, Jubbulpore, Seoni, Chanragarh, Rewa, Baitul, Mullagi, and Sambalpur, were given over to the British power, and the remaining parts of the province of Nagpur were incorporated into the British Empire on the failure of an heir in 1853 by the Marquis of Dalhousi in pursuance of his Annexation policy which has since been condemned by its practical abandonment.

The Marquis Wellesley took the first steps towards the settlement of the ceded and the conquered provinces by addressing a Proclamation on the 14th July, 1802, to the Talukdars, Zemindars and other persons having any permanent interest in the soil, intimating the intention of the British Government to make a Permanent Settlement wherever the land was in a sufficiently advanced state of cultivation to warrant such a measure. The Court of Directors approved of this intention of the Government of India and directed that a Permanent Settlement should be concluded after the expiration of five years, for which period a temporary settlement should be concluded and which time was to be utilized in collecting all sorts of information with reference to the soil and the rights relative thereto, as well as the classes of persons interested therein. After the deposition of Raja Chait Singh, the administration of the Province of Benaras was entrusted to Raja Mahit Narain at a fixed revenue and under the general control of the British Resident. The advanced age of Raja Mahit Narain nearly disqualified him from taking an active part in public affairs, and Mr. Duncan, the Resident, who had practically the chief power in the administration, recommended that the settlement of the Government revenue in perpetuity, that had been introduced into the Provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa in 1793, should also be introduced in the province of Benaras. The Court of Directors heartily approved of this recommendation, and it was promulgated by Regulation I of 1795 that the Government revenue should be fixed in perpetuity in the province of Benaras and that all other conditions should be the same as in the provinces of Lower Ben-

gal. The Court of Directors, at the same time, insisted that temporary settlements should continue in the Ceded Provinces for only ten years and at the end of that period an earnest and well-intentioned effort should be made to introduce a Permanent Settlement.

The provisions of Regulation I of 1809 appointed a Board of Commissioners permanently for the N. W. Provinces, and they were charged not only with the administration of Civil and Criminal justice but also with all the operations that were necessary for collecting the information requisite for permanently settling the land revenue. These Commissioners, after having visited all parts of the extensive territories committed to their charge, reported that one-fourth of the arable land of the country was then without cultivation and that the country had immense prospects of future improvement. The greater part of the arable land was, under the insecure state of things during the previous administration, insufficiently cultivated and, therefore, an immediate Permanent Settlement would be financially and politically inexpedient. The Court of Directors, while approving of this view, held out a promise in distinct terms that a Permanent Settlement would be concluded for all such lands as might be in a sufficiently improved state of cultivation to warrant the measure, on such terms as the Government should deem fair and equitable, and they directed the Commissioners to make special and detailed enquiries with a view to this promise being fulfilled as soon as possible. The authorities in Leadenhall Street, while leaving all local conditions and circumstances to be dealt with at the discretion of the Government of India, sent specific instructions that all estates where the uncultivated land would vary from one-fourth to one-third would be deemed to be in a sufficiently advanced state of cultivation for the Permanent Settlement. The Settlements meanwhile continued to be for temporary periods, and the task of collecting all necessary information went on. The minute of Mr. Holt Mackenzie in 1819 suggested that a Permanent Settlement should not be effected in the then state of information and that a succession of temporary settlements should continue. The Directors seem to have realized the fact that in their making the Zemindars full and absolute proprietors of the soil in Bengal without the detailed enquiries that were necessary, they had sacrificed the rights of other classes interested in the land and they instructed that sufficient recognition should be given to all such rights in all future settlements. They enquired what were the precise rights and obligations of *Khodkast* and *Paikast* raiyats, and they expressed it as their opinion that the Permanent Settlement Regulations had failed to protect the

rai-yats. They construed the Permanent Settlement in this way that it was never meant to destroy any rights the rai-yats might have in the land. A class of officers, however, seem to have entertained the opinion that a settlement of the land revenue in perpetuity by conferring supreme rights on the Zemindars constituted a material obstacle to the amelioration of the condition of the rai-yats and the promotion of their welfare. The difficulty of stating what portion of the produce of his holding should be exactly represented by the rent of the rai-yat was felt, and as the rights of the rai-yats had never before been determined, and were not the same in all parts of the country and, as such, were incapable of exact determination, it was found that the question was incapable of easy and ready solution.

The Directors, in their Despatch of the 9th May, 1821, write as follows:—"It is almost superfluous to observe that in the discussions prior to the Decennial Settlement it was allowed that the rai-yats had vested rights in the lands and the Revenue authorities were especially enjoined to secure them in them. The annulment of all of those rights, therefore, is and would be the most extensive act of confiscation that was ever perpetrated in any country. This is a subject of immense importance and we are happy to see you have not passed it lightly. The doctrine that the prosperity of the country would best be attained by the annulment of the prescriptive rights possessed by the resident rai-yats might be consolatory under past failures, but it was unsound in point of general policy and it was extremely unjust to act on it." After quoting the opinions of the best-informed officers of the Lower Provinces, the Directors say that under the Permanent Settlement Regulations rack-renting had become so common owing to the pressure of the population and the paucity of land, that any rights that the rai-yats might have by custom had been totally extinguished. They advert to the argument that the rai-yats of Bengal were by nature a class of indolent and improvident men, and incapable of producing more than the quantity just requisite for their own wants, and remark that the general conclusion here affirmed was exceedingly fallacious. In their Despatch dated the 1st August, 1822, they direct that detailed enquiries should be made from the evidence of local custom and the papers existing under the previous administration as to the rights of the rai-yats, and these should be properly and finally adjusted. The Regulation of 1822, in defining the rights of purchasers at sales for arrears of revenue, still further limited and restricted the rights of the rai-yats. The purchaser at such a sale was declared to have acquired the land with all the incidents and privileges that the last proprie-

tor had, while he was discharged from all incumbrances and liabilities on the ground that every tenure is hypothecated for the payment of the revenue assessed on it and, therefore, where a tenure-holder made a default in paying the revenue, no other obligation created by him should have a priority over this primary lien. The purchaser at a revenue sale was only to respect the rights of the village *Zamindars*, *Paltidars*, *muffasil Talukdars* and other persons having an hereditary transferable property in the land or in the rents thereof and *khodkasi hadimi* raiyats or resident and hereditary cultivators having a prescriptive right of occupancy. Act XII of 1841 and Act I of 1845, which re-enacted the Regulation of 1822, remained in force till 1859, when this whole subject underwent a thorough revision and greatly relaxed the rules with reference to the rights of the raiyats in cases of revenue sale. Under this Act, all *Istemrari* and *Mukrari* tenures held at a fixed rent from the time of the Permanent Settlement, all tenures existing at the time of the Settlement but not held at a fixed rent provided that the rents of such tenures shall be liable to enhancement under any law for the time being in force, all talukdari and other similar tenures created since the time of Settlement and held immediately of the proprietors of estates, and farms for terms of years so held when such tenures and farms have been duly registered under the provisions of that Act, and all leases of lands whereon any permanent things had been erected, are to be respected by the purchaser, but between 1799 and 1859, the terrible powers wielded by the Revenue Sale Law continued to be a source of misery and oppression to the poor raiyat. The description given by Sir Henry Ricketts of the condition of the country shows that new owners treated the raiyats with great cruelty simply with a view to extort as much as possible from them. By the time of Lord William Bentinck the old customary rents had nearly disappeared, the Ricardian theory of rent had come into practice almost everywhere, and a great and a general enhancement of rents had taken place. We would show, in our next paper, how the Permanent Settlement of the N. W. Provinces has been postponed *sine die*.

SATYA CHANDRA MOOKERJI.

## EVOLUTION.

In the theory of Evolution there is a good deal that is debatable, and much that is undoubtedly true. But the principle of Natural Selection will always hold its place beside that of universal Gravitation as one of the great laws of Nature. What does this mean? "Darwin must stand with Newton, the naturalist with the astronomer;" for the one is as great as the other, each being the greatest in his own science. Whether Natural Selection will account for the variation of species to the extent which Darwin very cautiously implies, and his followers so openly proclaim, is a matter for the future to decide. A variation, to be of any assistance to its possessor in the struggle for life, can hardly be dependent on a slight increase of the beak, or neck, or legs, still less on a slight change of colour in the shading of the plumes, or the coat or skin, of an animal. Two birds or beasts must unite, each with a certain definite variation, to be able to pass it on to their young, who, in their turn, must so unite as to transmit more pronouncedly the improved bill or jaw to the next generation. But here enter accidents, and wholesale devourings, which involve the improved and unimproved in a common ruin. Then there is the tendency to atavism, or reversion to an earlier and less improved type; and here I shall have a few words to say.

In that learned work, entitled *Examen du Livre de M. Darwin sur l'Origine des Espices*, by Mr. Flourens, we have the result of his own experiments on the hybridation of animals. In 1845, he obtained three mongrels by the union of a dog and a jackal. They were brought up with pups of their own age, from whom they differed at first by their ferocious ways—"like a savage brought up among civilised people," but, more markedly by having two kinds of hair, silky and woolly, "like all savage animals."

Like Buffon, Flourens found that the fox would not couple with the dog. The dog has the pupil of its eye discoid, and the fox elongated. The dog is diurnal, while the fox sees better by night. With such a difference in respect of such an organ, there can be no unity of genus. The dog, wolf, and jackal are all of

similar structure, hence the wolf and the dog, or the dog and the jackal will couple. "Buffon made a series of experiments on the reproduction of the dog and wolf, but he never could pass beyond the third generation. F. Cavier, who, was for thirty years, the director of the menagerie in the *Jardin des Plantes*, could not get beyond this; nor could I. With the jackal and dog, I went as far as the fourth generation, but could not go further. My experiments among mongrels, perseveringly followed out, gave us the precise characters of species and genera. *The character of species is continued fecundity, and the character of genera, limited fecundity.*

We know that the species of horse, ass, zebra, and hemione can breed with each other, as those of the wolf, dog, and jackal; and it is the same with the goat and sheep, cow and bison, she-goat and ram. . . . I have sometimes produced young by the union of the bull and mare; and horse and cow, but they have *never* proved fecund."

Take the young of the dog and the jackal; it has the erect ears, and the pendant tail; it does not bark and is as much a jackal as a dog. This is the first generation. Continue to *unite* it from generation to generation with one of the two producing species,—with that, for instance, of the dog. The mongrel of the second generation does not bark, but it has the pendant ears, and is less savage. The mongrel of the third generation barks, has pendant ears, and a raised tail. It is no longer savage or wild. The fourth generation is a perfect dog again; hence, four generations suffice to bring back one of the two producing or primitive types.

If then, two distinct species, such as the dog and the jackal, wolf and dog, ram and goat, horse and ass, are united, they will produce infertile offspring, so that *durable* intermediate species cannot be established. It is well known, that for centuries the horse and the ass have been united, but the mule and mullet do not give any intermediate species; and it is the same with the she-goat and the ram; they produce mongrels, who, if they unite among themselves, soon become sterile, or return to one of the primitive stocks by uniting themselves successively three times to one of the original or parent types. "They *never* form in any case what can be called a new or intermediate species. We have seen that the hybrids of vegetables, even of those which are fertile, return to one of the two primitive species at the end of four or five generations. Hybridity is, therefore, *in no case, and in no sense*, either in vegetables or animals, the source of new species." But, for argument's sake, let us grant that there was a time when such changes were possible, and, indeed, did occur. We then come to the question of time, for



Natural Selection must have got on very slowly, considering the series of accidents which it must have encountered. But it has had infinite time to work in. No such thing, since no life, not even the lowest, was possible upon this planet by reason of its temperature. "These, however, are difficulties for naturalists; the teteological school take their stand at three other principal points." First, the origin of all things: "why this world with its collocations rather than any other possible collocations, unless by the selection of intelligence?" Why *a, b, c*, rather than any other quantities? "That is due," we are told, "to the previous unknown history of the nebula." But this is mere shuffling. The question always returns: 'Why have the antecedent conditions been such as to give the present collocation, and not any one of the myriad possible collocations or arrangements of material?' The teteologist will say that the collocation which *a, b, c*, represent, was planned by intelligence. Can the Evolutionist put his hand on any one of Charles Darwin's discoveries that shall disprove this teteological explanation? Unless he can, the position that *matter* is prior to *mind* remains unproven."

The second point is the *Origin of Life*; but Darwin has left this as he found it. The third is the Origin of Man, and on this, as we all know, he has written, in his *Descent of Man*, how, "from the latter or old world monkeys, at a remote period, man, the wonder and glory of the universe, proceeded." Now, what does the teteologist say to that?—asks the distinguished author of *Evolution Run Wild*. "I abstract," says the Rev. Joseph Rickaby, "from all teaching of Holy Scripture, and I argue by science and philosophy, as we should have had to do had the Scriptures never been given to us. The teteologist then says that, speaking of animals, it is a mistake to discuss their bodily structure alone. In all the higher animals certainly there is some sort of a soul. The soul is more perfect, if not in its being, at least in its operation, where the body is more perfect." In other words, the soul is the essential formed from and by the combination of organic molecules peculiar to the human species. "There is a difference between a material soul and a spiritual soul in this, that the latter can and the former cannot apprehend an universal idea away from individualizing circumstances;" or, to put it in another form, between vitality like that of the vegetable world, and sentient life, as of animals, and a life like ours—of conscious existence.

None but bodies of the highest organization are capable of uniting with or rather producing a spiritual soul; "this, because soul and body in the animal have one joint operation," each work-

ing by and through the other, each acting on each, the body being the isthmus connecting the world of shadows with the world of substances, the spiritual with the material world. "An inferior organism cannot take a concurrent part in high psychical operations." Suppose then that all that Darwin has written on the gradual Evolution of the anthropoid ape were true. Evolution is a progress of ever better organized bodies. In time, when organization is sufficiently advanced, suppose the next generation to have infused into it a spiritual and immortal soul.

I have nothing to say to the antecedent possibility of man having been evolved in this way; but let us suppose it possible, which is going to extreme Darwinian length. Even then, there is no account rendered of the soul of man, unless that be ascribed to the creative act of a Divine Intelligence. There is no evolving an immortal spirit out of cosmic mist, not even through billions of transformations, because thought and matter are not in the same order. If the Evolutionist maintains that they are, we ask on what particular process of inductive reasoning gone through by Darwin, does he rely for his proof? It is not enough to show that human thought is conditioned on a certain bodily organization disposed and operating in a certain way; every student knows that. Nor is it enough, as Darwin has done, to trace analogies between emotions in man and in Brutes, for it is not emotion but intellect that is characteristic of man. Most human attributes have their analogues in the lower creation. Indeed, it was a favourite idea of the school-men, that creatures rose one above the other in a gradual ascending scale. Such a scale has been drawn by Lamarck, Darwin, and Haeckel. But the ascent, so gradual to the eye, is broken here and there by vast gulfs of difference. The villages of the Lebanon are so close that you can drop a stone from one to the other, but there is a perpendicular precipice between. There is not much difference to the eye between the lowest man and one of Haeckel's anthropoid apes, nor between a living spore and a speck of dust. But there is a difference so vast that Darwin has been unable to span it. He has not been able to explain the transition from brute matter to life, nor that from a material to a spiritual soul. The finger of God is here."

One might expect that if ever lower animals had a chance of attaining, if not human form, at least human intelligence, it would be in historic times, when they are especially bred and trained and cultivated by man's care. Yet they fall hopelessly short; they get no nearer, *except as man may get nearer the stars by going upstairs*. Is this, because nature has fallen off in her variability

being no longer young? Then Natural Selection is not enough for Evolution, but we need a certain indwelling potentiality. Whence came this potentiality? The teteologist will call it "*a creative nisus.*"

Again, man is a free being. Or, has Darwin shown that he is not? But how can free will have grown out of the necessary Evolution of matter?

These are some of the doubts of a teteologist touching the Darwinian formularies. They form part of his scientific plea for still holding the old faith to be better than the new. The worship of God, the Creator, has survived the discovery that the stars are not animals, and that they are not borne about by angels. Our idea of God's majesty has even gained by dropping epicycles and geocentricism.

Teteologists will yet "baptize" Darwin, as they baptized Aristotle in the 13th century, and classical literature in the sixteenth. They will accept as much Evolution as is capable of proof, and glorify God who planned the germ and primitive potentiality. They will yet, as Kingdon Clifford once dreaded they would, seize all the glories of modern science and weave them into a crown for the Creator and Redeemer of men."

I shall now conclude, but in doing so, I cannot do better than quote the words of Professor Houghton, the discoverer of *Least Action in Nature*: vide his Lectures illustrated by *Animal mechanics*.

In conclusion, let us suppose that this and all other branches of Science which man can study, have been carried to their utmost perfection; let us suppose that man has fully explored all the secrets of Nature he is capable of attaining, and has found a key that unlocks all the mysteries; he will still find himself only a worshipper in the temple and before the altar of an unknown God whose true nature and moral relations to himself must be sought from other sources than those which Nature furnishes. There are truths in the system of things as real and as certain as any laws of Nature, although we cannot perceive them with our senses. My eyes cannot see them, my ears cannot hear them, nor can I touch them with my hands; but they are there, I know them to be true, and that they will endure when Nature and her laws have passed away like a troubled dream. I testify what I have seen: I have many a time seen an humble earnest faith in these unseen truths cause a smile of joy to play upon the pale face distorted with pain, like a sunbeam dancing on the bosom of the troubled ocean. I have seen these truths illumine with a light from heaven

the dim eye, soon to be closed for ever by the cold hand of death. These truths are *more* dear to me than all that Nature can teach, because they touch my *inner* life and consciousness. I learned these truths as a little child upon my mother's knee; I cherish them in my heart of hearts; and in defence of them, if opportunity should offer, and God should count me worthy, I would gladly lay down my life.

C. J. WHINCOP-SMITH.

[NOTE.—See also "Fallacies of Darwinism," by C. R. Bree, M.D., F.R.S. My only motive in putting the above facts together and publishing them is to benefit my Indian brethren, and not with any view of being thought clever and original.]

### **SOME PROBLEMS OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.**

The safety to life and property that we enjoy under British rule in India, has brought about an enormous increase of population. The results of the last Census have made it clear. There is virtually no check on this increase,—no preventive of any kind in actual operation. Under the counteracting influences applied by the Government, there is nothing to keep down the population to the level of the means of subsistence. A girl, whether Hindu or Mahomedan, is married at 10 or 12 years of age when she is, in fact, a mere child, ignorant of any accurate conception of what wedded life really means. A boy is made to go through the ceremony of marriage at a time when he is scarcely out of his teens, when he has seen only the bright side of the world and has no idea whatever of the dark; and when the thought as to how he would support himself and the family that would centre round him within the course of a few years, has not yet crossed his mind. We orientals are a precocious people, and the beardless boy just on the threshold of the world and the girl of 14 become parents of children.

The system of perpetual widowhood obtains only among the higher classes of the Hindus, and that, too, in some parts of India. The number of Hindu widows, who become widowed before passing the age of child-bearing, will sink into insignificance when compared with the total population of the Indian Empire, *viz.*, 250 millions, so that widowhood cannot be said to operate as a preventive to population to any appreciable extent and may be left out of consideration. Then again western education and enlightenment have revolutionised Indian Society. The various social restraints on marriage are gradually dying away and offering increased facilities to marital union and thereby increasing the population. Not a man is now seen to die a life-long bachelor. Wars, famines and plagues, that operate as a positive check to increase of population, have all been made almost things of the past. The result is that population increases by leaps and bounds without a proportionate increase of food. Though large tracts of country are being brought under cultivation year after year and

many new resources are being opened up, the increasing produce of the soil is still insufficient to feed the increasing population.

The miseries occasioned by this increase of population are heightened by the habitual inertia of the people. We are said to be a stay-at-home people. A man will suffer life-long misery; will die of starvation amidst the groans and cries of his dear and near ones rather than migrate to a neighbouring district to live in plenty and happiness. Even inland emigration, in the true sense of the term, is unknown to the people. While repeated efforts of Government at planting a population in the rich virgin soils of Assam, the Central Provinces and the other outlying parts, fail,—fail most miserably,—we see a congested population in Bengal and Behar, one half of which is on the verge of starvation and the other half living from hand to mouth.

Want of enterprise among the people tends to intensify the evil. Where the population is already in excess of the means of subsistence, the excess must either open out new resources for themselves, or try to live upon the earnings of others. The latter is the alternative to which recourse is had in India. We like what *is*, instead of what is *not*. We dare not tread in a new path or try to chalk out a new way even when there is every possibility of success. Open competition with the nations of the West is, of course, an important factor in the matter. But competition with them in our own country, in our own markets, to supply our own demands, is much easier than competition with foreigners in their own country, to supply their demands. The European countries that supply the Indian market with their manufactures, have to depend greatly upon India and other countries for their raw materials. The high prices they pay for them; the cost of export and import and of the agency employed for the purpose; and the high wages of workmen there, increase the cost of production. But there is nothing of the sort here except the cost of bringing the machinery and keeping it in working order, mechanics being required to be imported from elsewhere. In addition to this, if we take into consideration the vast resources at our command, our knowledge of the country and its requirements, I may make bold to say that our well-directed attempts in this direction are sure to be crowned with success.

Unity and organisation are qualities almost unknown to India and her children. A European gentleman with a hat on his head and a bamboo stick in his hand lands at Prinsep's Ghaut at Calcutta. He has a mission here. He travels through India, explores the unknown tracts alone and unaided; but with a spirit

hopeful and indomitable ; and he goes home and forms a 'Company.' The roving John Bull, at the head of the newly formed 'Company', works a coal-mine on the frontiers of Bengal, grows Tea in Assam, takes a lease of a gold-mine in the Nizam's territories, makes a Railway line from Madras to Kurrachee, and in course of a few years, becomes a wealthy man, if not a Rothschild, all through sheer dint of unity and organisation. But how stands the case with an Indian gentleman? Born in a village and brought up in a village school or a Presidency College, an Indian gentleman joins the bar or the desk, and the goal of his life is reached. He seldom fills a multiplicity of positions. He enters the world as a pleader or a clerk, and dies a pleader or a clerk. A pleader or a clerk at the head of a commercial firm would be a strange combination,—an unheard of anomaly. He has a peculiar notion about dignity. The son or son-in-law of an Indian wealthy gentleman, be he a pleader, Zemindar, or trader, lives, as a rule, in a princely style and leads a sedentary and lazy life, and dies an untimely death through sheer inanition. In the case of the majority of them, even an independent and honorable calling would seem to bring on an unbearable indignity and disgrace upon the name and fame of the family. But look abroad, the son of that good old man whose all-surpassing wisdom, persuasive eloquence, extraordinary foresight, transcendental power of organisation and genuine patriotism have won immortality in the world's history, the son of that 'Grand Old Man,' who, in short, is the uncrowned king of England, is a simple merchant in Calcutta. He knows and works upon the noble principle embodied in the famous lines of Goldsmith:—

" Self-dependant power can time defy  
As rocks resist the billows and the sky."

But mark the contrast—the son of an Indian gentleman who gets Rs. 100 a month as his wages for driving the quill from sunrise to sun-set, thinks it beneath his dignity to serve a period of apprenticeship in a Jute-mill and thereby have his way to becoming a great man.

Land-holders, truly called the pillars of the State, are the depositaries of national wealth. They are the mainspring of national power and support of the poor and the needy. In a country where, true to ancient and immemorial traditions, the people look upon the direct recipient of rent or revenue—the Zemindar or the Collector—as the king omnipotent, and

where sovereignty in the abstract—crowned constitutionalism—is a thing that has only been lately imported from the West and that has not as yet acquired a sufficient hold upon the mind of the people, Land-holders occupy a defined position. The material prosperity of the country depends to a great extent upon their education, their energy, their independence of character, and their enterprising spirit. But, unfortunately for ourselves, the majority of those upon whom our country so much depends are greatly involved in debt. This debt is mostly of their own making and their estates cannot in consequence be managed to the advantage of themselves and of those to whom they stand in a fiduciary relationship and to whom they are responsible for the due discharge of their sacred trust. With the exception of a microscopic minority, who are the brightest ornaments of the country, all are too prone to yield themselves to the evil counsels of that notorious class of parasites who dance attendance upon oriental notabilities. They do not feel the responsibility of their position as depositaries of national wealth. They consider themselves as having an absolute interest in their wealth and spend it in a manner directly detrimental to the interests of the beneficiaries. They cannot free themselves from their liability by trying to relieve the sufferings of particular persons or class of persons here and there. To ameliorate the condition of the people as a whole, or, in other words, to raise the nation and bring it to a higher platform, is their paramount duty. Works of public utility, such as sanatoriums, hospitals and pleasure-gardens, are good in their own way. To pay handsomely for relieving the distress of the people when famine actually breaks out is something altogether different from creating institutions that prevent the recurrence of famine. From His Highness the Maharajah of Travancore—the first of Native States in point of the political enfranchisement of the people, down to a petty Talukdar in a remote corner of this vast Indian Empire, all are bent upon raising the land-tax. The magnificent palaces, the gorgeous omnibuses, the gold-embroidered head-dresses, the brilliant jewellery, in short all the richest novelties of Paris, London and Washington, all the valuable things of comfort and pleasure which modern Science has produced and human imagination has invented, are to be found in the house of an Indian potentate. But how? Assuredly, at the expense of the peasant's happiness and at the cost of the sweat of his brow. Go to an Indian village, and you will find the peasant tilling the soil with a plough of the ante-deluvian pattern, unaltered by time and the change of dynasties. To him are unknown the watering pump or



the husking machine and all the latest inventions of agricultural implements.

Our patience under suffering is a virtue that sometimes amounts to a degenerating national sin and tends to bring about a chronic state of distress. Sufferings borne are productive of good only when they serve to stimulate the dormant spirit to activity and infuse life into dead bones. If they serve to only teach us how to suffer, how to adapt life to its unhappy surroundings, not only for the time being but throughout the period of existence, then they virtually degenerate into slavishness, and make man devoid of manhood. This, if not entirely, at least to a great extent, is the case with us. From beginning to end, our life is a continued misery suffered with a calmness that is startling. This is a stubborn fact that defies contradiction. Large parts of the country suffer from inundations. Crops and cattle are destroyed and human lives are lost, sometimes to such an extent as to amount to a terrible disaster. The calamity repeats itself, year after year, in some district or other. But the people suffer from the evil effects of inundations almost without a murmur. Not a single effort is made by the people themselves to prevent the floods. The Dutch work and live under the roaring waves of the dangerous deep; the Irish boys are made to grow the staple food crops of Ireland; and the swamps of America are made to support a vast population. But our rich fields are swept away and we die of starvation. The once famous cotton industry of Dacca is gradually dying out and the weavers are taking to cultivation. Instances could be multiplied, but it is not necessary to do so.

These are some of the radical defects which hamper our progress as a nation. They are not such as "laws can cause or cure." England, as an European Power, feels herself tied hand and foot in these matters. But individual Englishmen—the scattered units of the powerful British Nation—can, true to the religion they profess and the duty they inculcate among us, *vis.*, the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man, to some extent at least, remove the evils and raise the fallen Indian Nation to the level of the civilised nations of the West. It is their duty to induce the people to shake off their lethargy, to teach them the value of emigration, of unity and organisation, to fan the smoking flames of industry and enterprise. It is their duty to teach the Land-holders,—the depositaries of the national wealth,—to rise to a sense of their responsibility and to turn to good account the wealth in their hands for the benefit of themselves and the tillers of the soil. It is their duty to impart to us their practical instincts and their

constructive genius and thus to enable us, the children of the soil, to work out the undiscovered wealth of Indian.

For the purpose of bringing about the desired result, I throw out the following suggestions :—

(1) The land-holders and other recognised leaders of society must form Agricultural and Industrial Associations for the purpose of improving the agriculture and manufactures of the country and for otherwise developing its resources. In this transition period of India, the people have almost no existence. If the aristocracy carry the people with them, they will most willingly follow them and prove useful auxiliaries in the noble work.

(2) They should open Agricultural Loan Banks and offer advances to the cultivators if they use improved implements of husbandry and if they grow such articles as command high prices in the European market.

(3) Instead of litigating for doubtful ownership of land, they should invest their capital in such ways as would repay their outlay and at the same time lead to the material prosperity of the country. Railways, and cotton and paper mills, are of great importance to India now as serving the two-fold purpose of civilising and enriching the people.

(4) The seeds of what is called Technical Education should be sown broadcast over the country.

These are some of my suggestions for the development of the resources of the country, and for tiding over the difficulties of our situation. One word more and I have done. India is now passing through a period of transition. The starving people may prove a fruitful source of disturbance and a stupendous obstacle in the way of the country's onward march. What I think incumbent upon Englishmen is that they should keep touch with the people and teach them to organise for the development of the resources of the country. The interests of India and England have been indissolubly bound together; and whatever attempts may be made for the well-being of the former will inevitably lead to the prosperity of the latter, as sure as day follows night.

K. C. B.

## **RATIONALE AND PHILOSOPHY OF SOME DOMESTIC AND SOCIO-RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS AMONG THE HINDUS.**

*Prohibition* against certain vegetables on certain days and in certain months is not altogether meaningless. The same vegetables, if used daily, always lead to monotony, and so to ensure a variety different vegetables are prescribed for different days. Again, some vegetables become tough and hard after a certain time, and consequently hard of digestion, and hence they are prohibited after a certain time.

*Act of Eating.*—A good Hindu always begins a meal by making *achman* and *gandush*,—i. e., taking some water in the palm of his hand and then sipping and swallowing it. This act might appear to be superfluous and unnecessary, but it is not so. Hindu meals begin with dry and solid food, as rice, chapate or loochee, and it is, therefore, necessary to moisten the lips, tongue and gullet or throat before eating.

The *Shastras* enjoin how a good Hindu is to eat or take his food; 3rd book, line 227 of Manu says—Wash hand and feet after toil and labour and then eat in a quiet and calm frame of mind.

The object of this rule is to prevent any hurry and scurry over meals. Physiology teaches us that for the proper digestion and assimilation of food, mastication or chewing is necessary. A calm and quiet frame of mind during eating prevents sickness, nausea and vomiting, which are apt to follow a hurried meal.

*Bath.*—I have premised that before eating, a good Hindu always has his daily bath or ablution and says his prayers. To eat with unwashed hands and clothes is regarded as pollution. A daily bath cleans the body and keeps the pores of the skin open for the passage of excretions. It also helps the organs to perform their functions and cools the nervous system secretions; it is also a good appetizer, as many of you can testify from personal experience. If we don't feel hungry for breakfast, it is a good plan to bathe an hour or more before meal-time, and then we are sure to have an appetite. This is ~~not~~ generally practised; many hurry over a bath and immediately sit down to eat. But I have known persons to say they don't like to bathe early, i. e., before their meals are ready, because they feel so peckish and hungry after their bath.

Again, bathing and washing are considered necessary for purification after a visit to the privy for calls of nature; clothes being

porous retain the fine and invisible particles of dirt and should be washed and purified before eating, drinking, and mixing in the household affairs. Unwashed clothes can carry infection and spread and communicate disease.

*Calls of Nature.*—One word as to calls of nature. The good old rule of Manu was that a householder was to rise betimes and to go out to the outskirts of his village, armed with his bow and arrow and there shoot leeward with all his might and then to follow in the direction and wherever the arrow would alight, he was to dig a hole and cover his excrement with earth. This rule applied to the primitive life of the Aryan Hindus, and might still be followed by people living in the villages with fields and waste lands and jungles close to them. People living in towns and cities cannot carry out Manu's rule, but they ought to observe its spirit and see that all filth is removed far away and effectually disposed of. One remark more and I take leave of this unsavory subject. The posture assumed by Hindus in attending to calls of nature is the best preventive and safeguard against a fearful disease, *viz.*, rupture or hernia of the bowels.

The practice of hanging the sacred thread by the ear before making water must have an object. It seems to me to have no religious meaning, but simply to preserve the sacred *poita* from trailing on the ground and from possible pollution by the act of passing water. The practice of using water after calls of nature is not only clean and healthy but promotes healthy functions.

The civilized method of sitting on night-stools and commodes might be comfortable and is, therefore, patronised by some Hindus, but persons who use these run some risk of getting hernia and rupture of the bowels by straining hard—when the weak parts of the abdomen, called rings, are exposed and not protected by the thighs as in the primitive method. Hernia is comparatively a rare disease in India, while it is very common in Europe; and this difference is due to the different postures assumed in attending to calls of nature.

*Journeys and Voyages abroad.*—When a good Hindu is about to start on a short journey or errand, if a lizard chirps overhead, he stops at once for a moment, as if an angel had spoken to him from heaven to desist and ordered a halt. I cannot guess at the object of this sudden halt except it be that, lizards are apt to cast their urine in drops from overhead when they make a *tic-tic* sound. Again, if some human voice, especially of children, cries for and recalls the man who has made a start, he makes an immediate halt, in order to avoid the distraction of mind caused by such voices or

cries and to gather his thoughts and becalm himself before proceeding on his errand or journey.

Long journeys are never undertaken without consulting the almanac as to the day and hour, *viz.*, whether it is propitious or not according to the conjunction of the planets and constellations. (English-educated Bengalis are apt to laugh at such things which they consider to be meaningless and superstitious prejudices.) For instance, journeys and voyages are forbidden at new moons or near them; under what is called *অমাবস্যা* *বস্যা*, or at eclipses or other unfavourable planetary conjunctions. At new or full moons there is generally a disturbance of the weather; clouds and storms might arise, or the atmosphere becomes very damp and foggy, as the moon and constellations exercise great influence on the weather. This is nothing but the science of meteorology.

Journeys by land and especially by water are not safe on such days and hence they are forbidden.

These atmospheric disturbances in connection with new and full moons are more apparent and regular in the districts bordering on the sea coast than in those far inland. So that the above prohibitions are not so foolish and meaningless as at first they might appear.

If a person setting out on a journey were to meet certain dirty animals or persons carrying empty pitchers, he would think them to be ominous and inauspicious. But to see a *পূর্ণ পাত* or vessel full of water is regarded auspicious, a full vessel being considered as representing desires and aspirations fulfilled and gratified and an empty pitcher representing empty wishes and desires.

*Water-supply.*—In a hot country like India, the gift of tanks and wells for drinking purposes has been always regarded as pious and religious acts. Hence in Bengal, we find numerous tanks and wells, the gifts of old rajahs, zemindars and wealthy men. Most of them have become old and silted up and require re-excavation and cleaning. But this sort of charity and social virtue having almost disappeared, tanks and wells are now very much neglected and people suffer much in consequence of a supply of bad or scanty water.

*Shady and Umbrageous trees.*—In a hot country, shade is very refreshing to weary passengers, who have to perform their journey under a hot and burning sun. The planting of umbrageous trees along roads was, therefore, regarded as an act of virtue and piety. Of all trees, the *peepul* and the *banian* afford the thickest and coolest shade and also grow to a huge size. Hence these trees are regarded as sacred, and planting them together and marrying them was celebrated as a religious ceremony. In

this connection, you might recall the sleeping lullaby of Hindu nurseries,—আম কঁটাধনের বাগান দিব হাজার ২ যেতে, *i. e.*, when the little baby girl would grow up and become a bride, the father would plant mangoe and jack topes for the palanquin to pass under the shade to the bridegroom's home.

*Falchhatter.*—*Apropos* of shade and shady trees we might mention the practice of offering cold drinking water and some *chhola* and *goor* and fruits in the month of Bysack, the hottest month of the year. I have no doubt many a weary and thirsty wayfarer has been refreshed and some lives, perhaps, saved from sunstroke and heat apoplexy, by this good practice.

*Midday* being the hottest part of the day, the practice of holding *patsalas* or village schools morning and afternoon with an interval of 4 or 5 hours is very sensible. In villages and the country, laborers and masons and other workmen divide the day into 2 parts and work morning and afternoon with an interval of 3 hours to avoid the heat of midday.

Late breakfast and late dinner hours are generally observed by the rural people who work and toil in the cool mornings. Physiology teaches that the power of digestion is stongest in the forenoon and gradually diminishes in the afternoon and evening. The Hindu breakfast for midday is a heavy substantial meal, while the supper or dinner at night is often lighter and consists of different diet. The Hindu custom is, therefore, more in accordance with physiology. Very late feasts and suppers are not conducive to health.

But marriage and other feasts celebrated late at night or day are not conducive to health. There is no help or remedy, as marriages always take place at night and, according to the auspicious conjunction of stars. But even here some sensible masters of feasts get over the difficulty by having feasts before the wedding when the auspicious hour happens to be very late.

*Sickness and Mourning.*—A piece of iron is kept under a sick bed. What is the rationale of this? The piece of iron is either a key, janty, or some long thing which might be of use in inserting between the teeth in case of a swoon or fasting fit. It is kept under the bed or pillow to be at hand if the sick child or person faints from weakness.

Some twigs and leaves of Neem or bitter trees are sometimes hung up in a sick room or kept under the bed. The air given off or expired by bitter trees is supposed to be salutary and healthy and, therefore, good for sick persons."

*Cows' urine* or fresh urine of calves is given in simple cases of fever—as a sort of fever-mixture—to produce perspiration by the little ammonia it contains and by the warmth of the fluid. The use of bitter infusions (*pachans*) is good for opening the bowels and assisting any biliary disorder.

In case of deaths, rigid rules are observed with a view to prevent the spread and communication of disease. Beggars are not allowed to enter the house and ask for alms; dirty clothes are not sent for wash to the village *dhobi*; nor does the village barber come to shave. These rules are very salutary and calculated to check epidemics of infectious diseases. During epidemics of cholera, the people get up *Kalipujas* and *Sankirtan* and *Nagarkirtans*, which have the effect of raising up the spirits of men and driving out fear or funk which is a great predisposing cause of disease.

*Vows and Festivals.*—Girls and women perform numerous vows or *bratas*. Unmarried girls generally pray for rich husbands and a large progeny. Married women and widows take vows or *brotas* for future bliss and happiness.

*Hindu marriages.*—These are regulated by very strict rules against consanguinity. The forms of marriage recounted by *Manu* are *Bráhma*, *Daiva*, *Arsha*, *Prájápatya*, *Asura*, *Gandharva*, *Rákshasa* and the *Paisácha*. Of these, *Paisacha* (seduction) and the *Asura* (sale) are condemned by *Manu*. Marriage with blood relations is prohibited down to the seventh generation. No race or nation is so particular in this matter as the Hindus. This point has been fully treated in Mr. Risley's great work on "Hindu Tribes and Castes."

When we remember that the offspring of consanguine marriages are, as a rule, not healthy and become subject to defects and deformities,—deafness, mutism and several other ailments,—we cannot but admire the profound wisdom of the Hindu legislators in this matter. The ceremonies connected with a Hindu wedding are so numerous and varied that it would require a separate paper to deal with and explain them. Suffice it to say that the meaning of much of these forms and ceremonies is the cementing of love and conjugal affection and the praying and wishing for progeny and prosperity.

The practice of holding different festivals all the year round—বাব্বাৰ মাসে ভৈৰৱ পাৰ্ব্বণ—is good, apart from religion, as most of them are more social than religious, such as ভাতৃ বিতিয়া, when sisters feast their brothers; জামাই বটী, when sons-in-law are treated to, and several others. They promote good and social feeling.

The great family re-unions and social gatherings held during the great Pujahs are very useful and happy meetings, and without defending idolatry we can see much good hidden under apparently idolatrous customs. The custom of baths and ablutions at certain eclipses and *Yogas* or conjunctions of planets has its good points. • It promotes cleanliness and the giving of charity and alms to the poor and to needy Brahmins.

*Ratha* and *Dol* and *Râsh* are something like fairs for the sale and purchase of things and the assembling and congregating of people from long distances and remote parts of the country. Local trade and industry are stimulated by these fairs and gatherings.

*Religious and Social feasts.*—In all great ceremonies, like উপনয়ন, বর্ষ চন্দ, weddings, and marriages, first rice festival, and shrads, the chief persons concerned fast more or less absolutely to shew great devotion. At new and full moons, many persons, both male and female, fast more or less. As remarked before, the weather becomes damp and wet or otherwise disturbed and is, therefore, apt to cause cold and rheumatism. When we remember that people often suffer more from surfeit than from under-feeding, the practice of periodical feasts at such times does real good to the system, just as taking castor oil and purgatives clears the bowels and the whole system.

*Sacrifices.*—We read that in the Vedic times every Brâhmana, Kshatriya and Vaisya house-holder kept up the holy fire and offered sacrifices to it. Wherever an Aryan settled, he built an altar and offered sacrifices and kept up the holy fire. This practice of killing animals as sacrifices is very common, nay universal. It is found among savages as well as civilized nations. The uncivilized races, like the Sonthâls, Koles,\* Bhuteas, Lepchas, Khasyas and others believe in and practice sacrifices to appease some evil spirit or deo. The civilized and cultered Hindus and other nations are given to sacrificing as much as the ignorant and barbarous people. This fact proves that the practice must have come down from a remote and primitive source when men lived together and spoke one language. Deism or theism does not teach us to take the life of any innocent animal. Buddhism and Jainism are against the slaying of the cow. The practice is to be found in every country and among every race, shewing that men have a belief that without the shedding of blood the anger and wrath of gods and spirits cannot be appeased. A certain text in the Vedas, says that ঐশ্বরী, i.e., the Lord of Creation, offered himself as the victim in a sacrifice for saving his creatures.

K. P. GUPTA, M.A., M.B. .



## THE UNCOVENANTED JUDICIAL SERVICE.

It is now more than a year since we took upon ourselves to jot down, in our issue of April 1891, our views upon certain points connected with the uncovenanted judicial service. We do not know whether our remarks had the good fortune of attracting the notice of the authorities. It is not very probable that the grievances and complaints, however strong and peculiar, of a body of dumb and timid people, would reach the ears of those in power and touch the cord of sympathy in their hearts, without much dinning, and call forth a response. The matter was so stale and devoid of sensation that no section of the press cared to notice it adequately. As far as we remember, only the *Hindu Patriot*, true to its traditions, devoted a short but trenchant article to it. We were disappointed to find that the *Statesman* only produced a faint echo. The *Indian Mirror*, it is true, now and then takes up the subject, and the *Amrita Basar Patrika* sometime ago made a few remarks that, according to the *Statesman*, went to the root of the thing. Our readers will remember that this was on the case of a Munsif at Monghyr who was known to work up to a late hour in the evening and on holidays. It is only, however, by persistent agitation that any point is likely to be gained in these days of high-pressure speed, of maximum of work with minimum of outlay. Indeed, it is pre-eminently the age when the proverbial Bráhma's milch cow consuming little but yielding a plentiful supply is in high demand.

It is meet, therefore, that we should review our present position in regard to the subject-matter of our article. First, we should note the change in the personnel of the authorities which has taken place since we last wrote. Mr. H. J. S. Cotton, an official of warm sympathies and the author of the never-to-be-forgotten *New India*, has taken the place of Sir John Edgar in the Bengal Secretariat, and Mr. Justice J. O'Kinealy, a strong and shrewd man and a judge of great ability, has taken over the portfolio of the English department of the High Court and has got for his lieutenant a thoroughly good and considerate-

official of warm sympathies in the person of the present able Registrar Mr. Carnduff. These changes augur nothing but continued efforts at reform for which their respective predecessors in office all along strove hard.

Let us now turn to the course of events. The first gleam of hope shone through the Financial Statement for 1891-92 of the India Government published in a Gazette Extraordinary on the 20th of March 1891. In the Budget Estimate, increased expenditure under the head of "Law and Justice Courts" was calculated at Rs. 83,200. The increase, it was explained, was to occur mainly in Bengal, the N. W. Provinces, Oudh and Madras. It was further explained that in Bengal the increase was due to the necessity of appointing Additional Subordinate Judges and Munsiffs. The actual amount sanctioned under the head noted above was Rs. 85,05,000 against Rs. 82,39,000 for the previous financial year and contained provisions for

	Rs.
6 Additional Subordinate Judges, 2 on Rs. 800 and 4 on Rs. 600 ... ..	48,000
55 Additional Munsiffs, 5 on Rs. 400, 10 on Rs. 300, 15 on Rs. 250 and 25 on Rs. 200 ...	1,65,000
Establishment of Additional Sub-Judges ...	6,000
Do Do Do Munsiffs ...	36,000
Contract contingencies do ...	5,000
Improvement of the ministerial establishment of Civil Courts ... ..	50,000
Fifth Judge of the Calcutta Small Cause Court...	12,000
<b>TOTAL</b> ...	<b>3,22,000</b>

Here then was some faint glimmering of hope that the deadlock which had cast its desponding gloom over the Service was at last going to be remedied to a certain extent. But the Manipur imbroglio, with its sad consequences, soon cast a deeper gloom over the country, and the prospects of the ill-fated Judicial Service seemed likely to be shelved once more. Then there was the ever recurring Frontier question and the Russian scare. To meet the demand for money nothing was easier than to starve the dumb body of the Native Judiciary. The Calcutta Gazette of the 28th of October 1891 contained the final decision of the Government on the subject, and well might it be said that stones were given to meet the cry for bread. It is as well to give the text in original as appears in the Financial Resolution of the Bengal Government dated the 26th of October 1891.

"It has been decided to sanction four extra Subordinate Judges, or one in addition to the three now temporarily employed, of which one officer will be in the second grade on Rs. 800 and the other three in the third grade on Rs. 600 each per mensem. The annual cost will be Rs. 31,200. A reduction of Rs. 16,800 will, therefore, be made under this sub-head. A reduction of Rs. 4,000 will also be made on account of establishment of the two additional Subordinate Judges not sanctioned by the Government of India. As regards additional Munsiffs, the Government of India have decided to sanction the full number but to place them in the following grades :—

	Now employed.	New appointments sanctioned.
" First grade (400) ..	75	
" Second grade (300) ..	70	5
" Third " (250) ..	65	10
" Fourth " (200) ..	20	40
	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL	230	55.

"The salary of the 55 officers sanctioned by the Government of India amounts to Rs. 1,44,000 against Rs. 1,65,000 provided for in the Budget. A reduction of Rs. 21,000 will be made on this account. The Extra Small Cause Court Judge, Calcutta, temporarily sanctioned is still employed in the Court, and no saving can be expected on this account. Final orders have since been passed regarding the improvement of the ministerial establishment of the Civil Courts recommended by Messrs. Stevens and Toynbee, and it has been decided that Rs. 5,000 will be sufficient provision to make on this account during the current year. Taking these reductions into account, the Lieutenant-Governor considers that Rs. 84,20,000 may fairly be taken as the revised estimate for the current year."

This then is the tiny mouse brought forth by the mountain after such a long period of incubation. The much-expected Five hundred Rupees grade is no where. But what is worse, a glance at the tabular statement quoted above will, perhaps, render it clear that the block in the higher grades of Munsiffs is likely to continue longer and considerably increase by the recent arrangement. Well may the poor Munsiffs under the present regime bid adieu to all prospects of attaining to Subjudgeships. The long-expected result of the Public Service Commission has been equally unsatisfactory. Though a few Judgeships have been

thrown open to the Native Judiciary, it will take many long years before these officers come to get the benefit of the same.

At the same time, the service should feel thankful that some steps have been taken to relieve it of the pressure of work by distributing the burden over a larger number of shoulders. In this connection, it should not be forgotten that even this small mercy seemed at one time likely to be withheld. It is almost an open secret that even after the sanction of the Budget estimate, the local Government was seriously bent on devising means to cope with the ever-increasing work by retaining the already existing staff. The remarks made by the Lieutenant-Governor, in course of his tours during the first year of his rule, created quite a panic which a Circular order of the High Court tended to confirm and extend. Sir Charles Elliott undoubtedly possesses an iron constitution and an inexhaustible store of energy which he does not scruple to draw upon with a free hand. It was, perhaps, natural that he would expect his subordinates to follow him closely in these respects. It is to be hoped, however, that by this time he has come to find out that even the European Covenanted Service possesses few members that may approach him in regard to these qualifications, and that, in dealing with large bodies of men, the standard of perfection should be based on the law of averages only. And yet occasional remarks in Government Resolutions go to shew that Sir Charles Elliott still considers the Native Judiciary as a body that is underworked. It is a truism that the less the output the more is the arrear. But is it always the fault of the Judicial officers? The Lieutenant-Governor's opinion, that eight hours of work in office, supplemented by additional work at home, is hardly too much for a Judicial officer, is, we are afraid, not likely to be shared by many and cannot be supported by medical authority. Eight hours of brain work is, perhaps, the utmost that can be exacted from an adult of average soundness of constitution, and to expect more, sounds peculiarly grim in these days of humanity and factory legislation. In the midst of so much outcry on behalf of factory labourers, is there none to stand up for the unfortunate Judicial officers? There may be an idler or two in this as in every other Service, but, generally speaking, the difference is increased by contrast between average work and overwork indulged in by some foolish people in the vain hope of earning empty praise at the expense of health. Every one glibly speaks of *mens sana in corpore sano*, but the case assumes quite a different aspect when the principle is about to be reduced to practice. It may be all very well to advise

one to get up at 8 or 4 o'clock in the morning, to perform one's ablutions and to take physical exercise by 6 o'clock, to write judgments and then to take breakfast and come to office by 10 o'clock and to work on there till 6, 7 or 8 o'clock in the evening, but the difference between European and Native environments and modes of living, not to speak of the difference of constitution, seems to be quite forgotten. Such a routine may, perhaps, be possible to one possessing the comforts of a bungalow with bath-rooms attached, with punkhas swinging, with sheltered verandas around, and compounds adjoining. But it can be hardly carried out by a native who has to use a privy situated at a distance from the lodging proper, who has to go there in scanty clothing and without shoes on in the midst of frost and rain, and who has to bathe in an open tank and so has to wait in the cold-weather the pleasure of the sun. As a rule, the exigency of complying with the European system, compels all office-going people to be satisfied with a nominal breakfast and to attempt at compensation by a heavy dinner which there is generally little time to digest. One can hardly believe that these facts of domestic economy are unknown to the powers that be. All this and more may be alleged on behalf of the native employé of the Government. But is it true that the European officer can bear this strain for a continued period? What is the meaning of his long furloughs? He is allowed to recruit his health very frequently,—more frequently than the native officer. In the long run, the work done by both becomes equal in measure.

The subject of house-accommodation deserves notice. Nothing unfortunately has been done in this respect since we wrote last, although, we believe, the matter has not failed to attract the Lieutenant-Governor's attention in course of his tours. It may not be out of place here to quote what Sir Richard Garth said on the subject in 1888. In course of a trenchant article on "The Stamp Fee System in Bengal" (*Vide* "A Few Plain Truths about India," pp 49—50) Sir Richard remarks that "while Executive officers are almost invariably provided with good and suitable offices and dwellings, the Courts of justice are in too many cases a disgrace to the Government. The habitations which mofussil judges are often forced to occupy are utterly unfit for gentlemen in their position. The contrast between the accommodation provided for Judicial and Executive officers is very marked, and tends, I need hardly say, very materially to lower the Judiciary in the estimation of the people." It is for Government to consider if this state of things is to be allowed to continue longer, and if it is good for the adminis-

tration of justice for which the litigating public is taxed so heavily. In the words of Sir Richard, "Civil suitors in Bengal are not only made to pay the entire cost of the Civil Courts, but of the Criminal Courts also, besides contributing a very large surplus for the benefit of the general public. \* \* \* The attention of Government has been called to it over and over again, and there undoubtedly exists a very strong feeling upon the subject. If the very large surplus, which is now received by Government from Court Fees, were (even to any reasonable extent) appropriated to the improvement of the Courts, there might be less ground for complaint. But when, for the express object of providing for the necessities of the Civil Courts, this large sum of money is taken out of the pockets of the suitors, and then appropriated to other purposes, while the Civil Courts are left in so disgraceful a condition, it naturally gives rise to very serious complaint." Alas, for the vanity of human wishes, however just these weighty words of sound wisdom has failed to remove the *status quo ante*, which has taken such a firm root on Indian soil. The sincere hope of improvement expressed by Sir Richard Garth remains as far from fulfilment as ever. As regards the Civil Courts, it is only when some court-houses are burnt down by conflagration and irreparable loss is inflicted on numerous people who are obliged to deposit their valuable documents there, that Government sometimes rises up to the necessities of the occasion and thinks of erecting pukka buildings. But even then, in most cases, it is more like a cage cribbed and confined and befitting the Zoological Gardens than anything else. As to the lodgings of the Judicial officers, it is apparently the concern of nobody. For are there not enough of *umedwars* and to spare, too willing to accept service on any condition and to die in harness?

Of course, the stereotyped reply of the Government of India to all such complaints would be, as was forcibly declared by an able and well-intentioned daily contemporary, that "there is no such thing as a 'credit balance' to the account of Civil Justice. . . . The surplus is absorbed in the general revenues of the country, on the principle—if a term so suggestive of a moral character can be given to the practice—that all is grist that comes to the Government mill." As regards the surplus referred to by Sir R. Garth, it may not be out of place here to mention that while Sir Richard estimates it at about thirty lacs (or, more correctly, Rs. 32,16,867) in regard to the year 1882, the Indian Government, in its Resolution of the 9th of January 1890, would make it appear to be only about fourteen lacs (or, more accurately,

Rs. 14,75,000) with regard to the year 1885. Now the *Statesman*, in several issues in March last, in dealing with the correspondence between the Secretary of State and the European and Anglo-Indian Defence Association on the subject of the Madras S. C. Court legislation, took pains to discover and explain "that the principle on which the conclusion announced with such complacency is based, is to make litigants in Bengal and Madras pay not for their own litigation only but also for a considerable portion of that of the rest of the empire," and to protest against the unfairness of this attempt at minimising the surplus.

We note with grave apprehension that a strong tendency is evinced by the Government to minimise the work of the Munsiffs. By an arbitrary rule a little suit is considered equivalent to three ordinary suits, while a Small Cause Court suit is taken to amount to one third of an ordinary suit. It seems to be forgotten that though the trial of a Small Cause Court suit is recorded in a small space, it does not often take less time than an ordinary suit. We are also afraid that the difference between *trying* a case and *disposing* of it is either lost sight of or not taken into account. As to the rule of proportion referred to above, the recent Government Resolutions, on the Divisional administration reports under the head of Civil Justice, do not seem to make any distinction between contested and uncontested decisions in estimating the quantity of a Judicial officer's work. Numerical statistics, it must be confessed, may often be misleading. And yet even these sometimes tend to shew which way the wind really blows. In a recent Resolution it is admitted that the small outturn of the Munsiffs of the Gya district has been the subject of continued comment and enquiry, but the result of the enquiry is not given.

A laudable tendency is now-a-days evinced on all sides to mitigate the hardships of witnesses, but the proposed remedies, we fear, are likely to be worse than the disease. Simplification of procedure and lightening the hands of the Judicial officers should be thought of more than the distress of witnesses and censuring the officers, who, as a general rule, do not shirk work and are rather too prone to work at the expense of their health. It is hardly fair to make too much of stray instances to the contrary.

In regard to promotions, it is gratifying to observe that of late there have been manifest indications of a disposition to fill up vacancies more promptly than what used to be the practice formerly. The propriety of this change is palpable on the face of it. A bird in hand is worth two in the bush. And while a few members used to be benefited formerly by getting a lump sum

into their pocket at once, the majority surely does not care to wait in the face of the contingency that by the time they may come to be promoted, they may be promoted off the face of the Earth. Nor should it be forgotten that hope deferred maketh the heart sick. This sickness is enormously increased by the fact that retrospective effect is not allowed now-a-days. No earthly reason can be discovered for this strange practice beyond the fact that it saves from a good deal of trouble those whose business it is to make the necessary calculations.

It is much to be regretted that the authorities have not yet seen their way towards granting temporary promotions even within the limited range which is open to the uncovenanted Judicial service. We hope, however, that it only requires to be properly brought to the notice of the responsible officers concerned, and that the grievance will not be allowed much longer to go unredressed.

The question of privilege-leave and leave-allowances is just where it was before. Nor is a prospect of improvement visible in the near future in the face of the Exchange difficulty and the threats of those affected thereby.

Before we conclude, we must heartily thank Government for removing a source of complaint which we had forgotten to notice in our previous article. We refer to the appointment of orderlies and duffries. So impressed was the Lieutenant-Governor with the justice of the complaint on this head that Mr. Secretary Cotton, in his letter of the 14th of March last, asked all District Judges to take at once the necessary steps to give effect to the Government orders from the 1st of April following.

A word or two in regard to the annual transfers may not be out of place here. Generally speaking, no fixed principle can be discerned that governs these transfers. Of course, every one should have his turn of good and bad places, but then it might be considered rather hard, we apprehend, if no distinction were made in this matter between officers with very good records and those without them. The evil effects of this dead-level system are obvious. In the absence of any incentive to action, people will gradually cease to make brilliant efforts. When, however, a transfer to a bad place is made by way of punishment, one can have nothing to say against it. By the way it should not be forgotten that good and bad are relative terms. What may be sought to be shunned by an inhabitant of a metropolitan district may be hailed with pleasure by a resident of another district. So what may be considered as prize stations by the former and by the authorities may not be



welcomed at all by others. Further, while an officer is at times transferred from China to Peru as it were, others are just moved about like pawns on a chess board. Again, as regards the duration of stay, officers are often transferred from places just as they begin to be useful there. To prevent an officer from imbibing prejudices, he is prevented from acquiring sufficient experience of a place and profitably using the same. It must be confessed that indications of a wholesome departure have begun to be manifest of late in this matter. It may be that an eye to economy in regard to travelling-allowances more than a desire to lessen the hardships of the officers themselves, is tending to produce this desirable result. But we, mortals, should not aspire to discover causes, for we should rest contented with effects. Mortal ken cannot gauge the motives of angels. Orthodox Christianity teaches that truths regarded eternal on Earth may not be truths in heaven.

We may as well put in a passing note of surprise that there is a strong tendency now-a-days to withdraw all executive power from the Munsiffs, which, no doubt, thereby secures more peace though often at the expense of prestige. We are not sure if the object of the change is not at times frustrated by substituting a blue bed for a brown.

In our previous article we spoke of Munsiffs as judgment-grinding machines. We think we may call them order-carrying automata as well. Some District Judges seem to be disposed to treat them just as one treats one's lackeys. Individuality is sought to be put down with a high hand. Suggestions made with the best of motives are treated as impertinent. Abuse, instead of advice, is meted out with an unsparing hand. The result is as may be expected. Calousness and despondency succeed, and, what is worse, the subordinate Judicial officers are lowered in the estimation of the public.

We shall now conclude by repeating our humble but earnest prayer that the authorities may yet be graciously pleased to take the existing grievances of the uncovenanted Judicial Service into consideration and find means to remove the same before despair leads to demoralisation which already seems to be setting in.

### INDIAN MIRAGE.

Major James Abbott, while marching through the Central Provinces from Kurnaul to Mhow in October 1829, experienced this strange Indian phenomenon. I know not if any other officer had witnessed it before. But so far I can say for certain, it is long since known to the people of this country. We have the word *Marichikā* as the Sanskrit equivalent for it. It is produced by the action of the rays of the Sun on a dense stratum of transparent and visible vapor. It generally occurs at an hour or two after sunrise. The vapor is generated from the Earth moist with dew. In it the refraction is much greater than is the case with the surrounding atmosphere. The mirage, as it is seen in India, is seen at a distance, roughly estimated, at from three to eight miles. Major James Abbott dwells at some length on the manner in which the phenomenon might present itself to the sight. He says that the spectator must need turn his back towards the Sun, or the light reflected from the objects in the vista will not be so strong as to present to the eye the image intended to be seen. It generally assumes the shape of a range of cliffs that have so distinct and clear a lineament that one cannot but take it for real. A good telescope adds much to its beauty. The mirage, which appears as a sheet of pure transparent water and is, oftentimes spoken of by travellers in desert-land, is commonly seen in this vast peninsula during night. Dr. Brewster, in his treatise on mirage, is of opinion that the sort alluded to in the first part of this short paper is nothing but the effect of the reflection of image from a denser region of the atmosphere. But Major Abbott deems it unsafe to stand by him. He adduces the reason given below in support of his assertion.

At night, the mist, parting with its caloric, becomes specifically heavier than the atmosphere, and settles on the Earth. Pure on clear nights, the radiation of the caloric from the mist to the vault of heaven precipitates it in dew on the Earth. Again, when the Sun rises, the Earth's surface imbibes the rays and the dew is evolved in vapour which at first is transparent.

The vapour being of rather less specific gravity than the lowest stratum of air, rises above it, until it meets with a stratum somewhat elevated which the reflected heat from the Earth's surface has not tempered. To this stratum it parts with a portion of its caloric until its rarity is so much abated that it cannot ascend higher; and it then hangs like a canopy in the air, continually increasing by additions of vapour from beneath, but as continually decreased by the escape of particles above. Accordingly the phenomenon is only or chiefly observable from the 1st to the 2nd or 3rd hour after sunrise and when the nights are rather chilly and the sky clear.

To whatever causes due, the phenomenon is well known to the people of India. Sanskrit poets have referred to it. Besides *marichikā*, it is (in Sanskrit) also called *mrigatrishná*. The latter word implies 'deer's thirst.' Whether man only sees it and not the deer and other animals would be curious to ascertain. From the allusions to the phenomenon that occur in Sanskrit poetry, it would seem that all thirsty creatures (man and the lower animals as well) behold it at mid-day. The vanity of human hope is frequently illustrated by a reference to this fleeting and unsubstantial vision. 'The mirage of hope' is a proverbial expression in almost every Indian vernacular. I cannot conclude this brief note on the Mirage without quoting a beautiful and excellent verse from Pundit Ram Nath Tarkaratna's *Vāsudeva Vijayam* :—

*Pivaroru ! marureshadāruna-  
Schitramatra vata ! mitrarasmishu,  
Bhaumavāshpachaya chārumurcchanāt  
Vārimohamupayānti jantavah.*

Canto XVIII, v. 57.

Krishna, addressing his spouse Satyabhāmā, while proceeding through the firmament on his celestial car, says :—O thou of full rotund thighs, that is a dreadful desert ! Wonderful to relate, the dense vapours rising from the Earth, mingling with the rays of the Star of day, cause all animals to behold the illusion of water !

N. C. B.

## A BROKEN-HEART.

[*In answer to one who argued that people felt nothing now-a-days.*]

A-h, you may smile at it, laugh at it, jeer at it, cry—  
"B-roken hearts don't exist in this nineteenth centur-y,"  
R-ough times you may get, but stout Will pulls you through,  
O-h never consider the faults you may rue.  
"K-eeep up a good heart," 'tis the way to be merry,  
E-nliven the present, the future can tarry.  
N-ever think on the troubles a joke cannot parry.  
H-ere's a health to the "pecker" that always is up,  
E-ver ready to pledge you, and drain off a cup;  
A-heart that is broken can ne'er have been tough.  
R-est assured, yours is made up of much better stuff,  
T-hat to crush it had given even Samson enough.

ASTER ALBUS.

## REVIEWS.

### *Report of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce for the year 1890.*

We must apologise for the length of time for which we have kept the above unacknowledged, but the fault is rather one of omission than commission. The demand on our limited space was so great that we were obliged to keep out reviews and notices for some time.

It is as satisfactory to note the growing spirit of enterprise amongst our countrymen. It is not only right but praiseworthy that we should display a strong desire for obtaining a greater share in the commerce and trade of our own country than we have hitherto done. There can be no reason why the entire trade of India should be considered as an absolutely European monopoly. The efforts, therefore, that are being made by our countrymen for securing a larger share in the trade of India, are, indeed, a sign of progress, and demand encouragement and assistance for further development.

The above institution has not been many years in existence, still its usefulness is so thoroughly recognised that it is annually being strengthened by additional members. It has gained the respect of the Government, which never ventures to decide any intricate commercial problem now without first making a reference to it and gaining its experienced views.

The report of this useful institution opens with an appeal for contribution in order to raise a permanent building for office, and we should direct the attention of our readers to this request in the hope that they would give their mite and thus help towards the attainment of the desired end.

The Chamber is to be congratulated on its success in getting itself represented in the Calcutta Port Trust in the person of Babu Sita Nath Roy, than whom no better selection could have been made.

We propose laying before our readers, in a few words, the operations of the Chamber during the year under review.

*Income Tax.*—This unpopular impost, having, in consequence of a circular issued by the Collector on the authority of Resolution No. 5441 of the Department of Finance and Commerce, dated 23rd October 1889, extended its influence on profits accruing from sale of imported goods on account of London importers, the Chamber, in common with the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, made a strong representation against it. The result, however, was not satisfactory, as the matter was managed to be kept in abeyance by the Government.

*Railway Receipts.*—It was proposed to make these Receipts negotiable in the same manner as Bills of lading. There seems to be no particular difficulty about this, especially when it is considered that prior to the decision of a recent case in the Bombay High Court, which threw some doubt on the validity of such Receipts as negotiable instruments, these documents used to be transferred from one party to another by endorsements.

*Uniform Standard of Weights and Measures.*—The Chamber took a very intelligent view of this matter. It took care to point out the inconvenience and confusion that would necessarily arise from the immediate and arbitrary introduction of a system that would not be readily understood, upon the expulsion of one with which the people were familiar, and which created no difficulties in regulating the transactions of trade, although the Chamber would not deny that different systems of weights and measures prevailed in different provinces, and often in different parts of the same district.

*Hackney Carriages.*—Some good suggestions were offered in respect of the improvement of Second and especially Third class carriages. The Chamber saw the necessity for stronger-made carriages and more substantial harness. It approved of the appointment of a Committee, and further remarked that in the event of carriages, horses, and harness not coming up to the approved standard, they should be disqualified, under a heavy penalty, until such deficiencies were removed, for plying for fare. A few other suggestions were made of equal importance.

*The Factory Act*, with which we are all more or less acquainted, was brought into existence with a view to handicap Indian manufactures and leave the field practically open to foreign manufactures. The report of the Commission appointed to visit the various factories and elicit replies from employers and labourers, on matters closely touching the health, treatment, hours of work, wages, etc., of the latter, was duly placed before the Chamber, and its opinion, as expressed, may be gathered from the following:—

“The Committee beg to observe that they fully recognize the vast and over-reaching benefits which the people of India are deriving from the development and prospect of the Factory industries, and that they entirely agree with the view of the Commission that it would be a great calamity if, by any injudicious recommendations or unnecessary restrictions, the prosperity of these industries is endangered. In this connection the Committee of the Chamber, from their intimate knowledge of the past and present conditions of the labouring classes, beg leave to observe that service in Mills

4.

The Public and of a profession become so popular that workmen in the embrace as a few opportunities for employment in preferment presented by more and more congenial occupations of in prison discipline and houses, which even with the chance of ing, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 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1974. 1975. 1976. 1977. 1978. 1979. 1980. 1981. 1982. 1983. 1984. 1985. 1986. 1987. 1988. 1989. 1990. 1991. 1992. 1993. 1994. 1995. 1996. 1997. 1998. 1999. 2000. 2001. 2002. 2003. 2004. 2005. 2006. 2007. 2008. 2009. 2010. 2011. 2012. 2013. 2014. 2015. 2016. 2017. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2021. 2022. 2023. 2024. 2025. 2026. 2027. 2028. 2029. 2030. 2031. 2032. 2033. 2034. 2035. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2039. 2040. 2041. 2042. 2043. 2044. 2045. 2046. 2047. 2048. 2049. 2050. 2051. 2052. 2053. 2054. 2055. 2056. 2057. 2058. 2059. 2060. 2061. 2062. 2063. 2064. 2065. 2066. 2067. 2068. 2069. 2070. 2071. 2072. 2073. 2074. 2075. 2076. 2077. 2078. 2079. 2080. 2081. 2082. 2083. 2084. 2085. 2086. 2087. 2088. 2089. 2090. 2091. 2092. 2093. 2094. 2095. 2096. 2097. 2098. 2099. 2100. 2101. 2102. 2103. 2104. 2105. 2106. 2107. 2108. 2109. 2110. 2111. 2112. 2113. 2114. 2115. 2116. 2117. 2118. 2119. 2120. 2121. 2122. 2123. 2124. 2125. 2126. 2127. 2128. 2129. 2130. 2131. 2132. 2133. 2134. 2135. 2136. 2137. 2138. 2139. 2140. 2141. 2142. 2143. 2144. 2145. 2146. 2147. 2148. 2149. 2150. 2151. 2152. 2153. 2154. 2155. 2156. 2157. 2158. 2159. 2160. 2161. 2162. 2163. 2164. 2165. 2166. 2167. 2168. 2169. 2170. 2171. 2172. 2173. 2174. 2175. 2176. 2177. 2178. 2179. 2180. 2181. 2182. 2183. 2184. 2185. 2186. 2187. 2188. 2189. 2190. 2191. 2192. 2193. 2194. 2195. 2196. 2197. 2198. 2199. 2200. 2201. 2202. 2203. 2204. 2205. 2206. 2207. 2208. 2209. 2210. 2211. 2212. 2213. 2214. 2215. 2216. 2217. 2218. 2219. 2220.

## REVIEWS.

1892.

n of the Office, and the establishment of a  
*Rail* in barely six months' time, 173 Pounds for  
 negoti, 000 and four for 2,250, and one defen £100  
 be no was also granted, the total premis £3620-  
 ed tha and £161 2s. 9d. The sum of £5,315 likewise  
 Court, wh account of six Annuities. These are payable  
 negotiabl the share-holders are to be congratulated upon having  
 one p interests placed in the hands of such an able and trust-  
 worthy officer as Mr. Kemp, and under the control of such Directors  
 as Messrs. D. F. Mackenzie, D. Cruickshank, and A. B. Miller.  
 We need only say, in conclusion, that the Profits of the year  
 amounted to £7,748 9s. 4d.

### *Calcutt Medical School Report for 1889-90.*

There can be no doubt as to the usefulness of this School  
 and its far-reaching influence, look at it in whichever light one  
 likes. It is just in its infancy; still it has made more progress  
 than could be expected of it. Can so much success prove a  
 matter for surprise or wonder when its patrons are H. H. The Ma-  
 harajah of Kuch-Bihar, Dr. R. C. Sanders, and the Hon'ble H. J. S.  
 Cotton?

The Session opened with 66 students against 57 in 1888-89,  
 and closed with 87 names on the rolls. The attendance was all  
 that could be desired, the percentage being 80.3 as compared with  
 70 in the Session of 1888-89.

The opening of a dissection class is a great improvement, and  
 the following gentlemen are mentioned as having contributed  
 towards the attainment of the object. His Honor the Lieute-  
 nant-Governor, Sir Alfred Croft, Dr. R. C. Sanders, P. N. Mittra,  
 Esq., Dr. J. B. Bose, Dr. S. Mookerjee, Dr. B. Basu, Dr. S. C.  
 Basu, Dr. R. G. Kar, and Dr. A. Basu M. B.

Good work was done by the students in this special study,  
 and Dr. R. C. Sanders is to be specially thanked for having offered  
 facilities in the way of a liberal supply of subjects. This class  
 is under the superintendence of able demonstrators like Drs.  
 S. C. Basu and A. Basu.

The following other classes have been opened during the  
 period under review: Surgical Anatomy, Pathology, Hygiene,  
 Demonstration in Materia Medica.

For clinical instruction the students attend various out-door  
 dispensaries, and the Doctors in charge of the dispensaries are  
 to be thanked for the interest they take in imparting this special  
 kind of instruction to the students.



and Pathological Museum is developing, but though the want of a proper library is felt, one may soon come into existence. If a few books have, we learn with gratification, been presented by authors and gentlemen.

The directors of the institution is, on the whole, all that could be desired, and its finances are satisfactory. The latter bid fair to increase in consequence of promised subscriptions and donations.

*Life of Prem Chandra Tarkavágisa with his verses in Sanskrit, by Rámakshaya Chatterjee, Calcutta, 119 Bytakháná Bazar Road, printed at the Banerjee Press by J. N. Banerjee and Son, 1892.*

This is an excellent little biography in Bengali. Who is there amongst us that has not heard of Pundit Prem Chandra Tarkavágisa, the Poet and Rhetorician? Pundit Tarkavágisa came of a good old stock of Sákrádá in Rar. He acquired the rudiments of Sanskrit in a tôle. He then joined the Calcutta Sanskrit College as an advanced student, and soon after, completing his studies, was appointed Professor of Rhetoric and Poetry in his *alma mater*. Coming to occupy that chair after Pundit Náthuram Shástri, it was not easy to keep up its reputation. But Pundit Tarkavágisa showed that he was fully equal to the duties he had to discharge. He was truly loved by all the students who sat at his feet. He was an original poet of remarkable powers. He edited and commented upon several celebrated Sanskrit poems, and was much esteemed by Professor Wilson and others not only for his sound scholarship but for the purity and simplicity of his character. His biographer is his brother. Many remarkable anecdotes have been carefully collected, illustrative of Pundit Tarkavágisa's character. As befitted a rigid Hindu, the Pundit retired in his old age to Benaras where he breathed his last, plunging into gloom his numerous disciples throughout Bengal. Pundit Tarkavágisa was connected with the Bengali press then in its infancy. His contributions to the *Prabhākara* were read with delight by a large circle. The little biographical sketch has been enriched by a collection of the Sanskrit verses of Pundit Tarkavágisa. These are delightful reading. It is a matter of great regret that the talents of Pundit Prem Chandra were allowed to be frittered away in comparatively unimportant tasks without being centred on something more worthy of them. An original poem from Pundit Tarkavágisa would not have been unworthy of the Sanskrit Muse of mediæval India.













